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Cromwell

OLIVER CROMWELL

A HISTORY

COMPRISING A NARRATIVE OF HIS LIFE, WITH EX-
TRACTS FROM HIS LETTERS AND SPEECHES
AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE POLITICAL, RE-
LIGIOUS, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS OF
ENGLAND DURING HIS TIME

BY

SAMUEL HARDEN CHURCH

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TO
MY BELOVED CHILDREN
RUTH, HARDEN, AND ELIZABETH
I DEDICATE THIS BOOK
AND MY LIFE



PREFACE.

WHEN reading Hume's *History of England* some years ago, his severe treatment of Oliver Cromwell impressed me as being unjust and overdrawn. In turning to Thomas Carlyle for a fairer view, the supernal garb in which he dressed the hero was found equally unsatisfactory. I then began an investigation, resolved to discover the true character of the Puritan leader, but partisan descriptions were encountered in nearly every book. One school of writers presented him as a perfect being endowed with a divine mission for liberty; the other school loaded his memory with obloquy and charged upon his private ambition every unwholesome act of his time.

While pondering these conflicting views in the heyday of a happy life, an overwhelming misfortune caused me to turn to the serious study of this subject. For nearly six years I have devoted the whole of my leisure to this work. Most of the authorities used were gathered for me in London with great pains, and they compose a collection which is, I believe, as complete as any other private library of Cromwellian literature, and which comprises all the books that were written by the Cavalier and Puritan historians, together with some twenty modern *Lives* of Cromwell. Such of these books as have been especially useful to me are mentioned in the footnotes to the text.

After fully exploring this vast monument of letters, it has seemed to me that a sufficient story of Oliver Cromwell and of the events which made his extraordinary career possible has not been written outside of the general histories; while in

the general histories, it is the story of England and not the story of Cromwell, the Protector appearing as one of many figures in a stirring period, rather than as the foremost man of his age. The special biographies take up the thread, in effect, at the opening of the Long Parliament, leaving the earlier political events, which really called Cromwell from the pastoral obscurity of his farm, to be gathered elsewhere.

In this book, I have endeavoured to narrate as much of that fascinating story as seemed essential to a correct understanding of his character; and this purpose has led me to present Charles I. side by side with Cromwell, and to draw a full description of the attempt to found an absolute monarchy which brought Charles and Cromwell before the world as opposing actors in the most remarkable drama of English history. I have presented both of these men as they have revealed themselves to me in all authentic records, relating with mournful pity the misguided efforts of Charles to fasten on his people an arbitrary Government, which led to his overthrow and death, and developing with candid affection the wondrous and colossal, if sometimes defective, figure of Oliver. The English deliverer speaks again, with some fulness, from his unparalleled letters and speeches, wherein his individuality is so distinct that we almost see him in his likeness as he lived. And every important and credible witness on either side has been called to tell what he knows.

With this plan of work in mind I have written my book, not as a biographical sketch, for of such there are many already, but as a narrative or study which aims to present, with sufficient detail, the formation of the Commonwealth and its strange paradox of the permanent establishment of civil and religious liberty through a Dictator who respected no law, in working out England's salvation, but the law of necessity; and this for a nation whose fortunes are happily and inseparably linked with the forms of popular monarchy.

I must beg the generous reader to remember that, in commenting on the religious features of the great controversy, it has seemed proper, in some instances, for me to write from the

Puritan point of view, and not always from that broader and more congenial understanding of the universal toleration of opinion and mutual religious respect which are the glory of our present time.

Now that my labours have drawn to an end, it is with much diffidence that I venture to submit the result to public scrutiny. I have conscientiously endeavoured to be accurate in every statement of fact and just in every expression of opinion. But despite a most careful revision of my work, I feel impelled, at this last moment, to quote the words of the learned Dr. Wharton, who says : " The commission of errors in writing any history of times past, being altogether unavoidable, ought not to detract from the credit of the history, or the merits of the historian, unless it be accompanied with immoderate ostentation, or unhandsome reflections on the errors of others."

S. H. C.

April 25, 1894.





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OLIVER CROMWELL.

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ANCESTRY—BIRTH—EARLY LIFE.

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OLIVER CROMWELL, perhaps the most startling, certainly the most unique figure in the whole pageantry of English history, was born at Huntingdon, on the 25th of April, 1599, and was christened in the parish church four days later, as shown by the register which is still preserved.

His family has been traced to Welsh extraction, and after his rise to power the heralds were able to invent for him a genealogical table which a worthy biographer naïvely describes as being two feet four inches in width and eight feet long.¹ In this fabulous pedigree his descent from the ancient Lords of Powis and Cardigan is asserted, dating back to the Norman Conquest; but on this subject Oliver says, simply: "I was by birth a gentleman; living neither in any considerable height,

¹ Noble, *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell* (London, 1787), vol. i., p. 2.

nor yet in obscurity." An offshoot of that stock gives us Morgan Williams, the ~~great~~ great-great-grandfather of the Protector, with whom the authentic history of the family really begins.

This Morgan Williams was a gentleman of Glamorganshire who enjoyed the income of a small estate, and he seems to have acquired an honourable position at the Court of Henry VII.¹ He was married to Elizabeth, a sister of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, and upon this brilliant alliance established the claim of his family to recognition at Court.²

Richard Williams, the son of Morgan Williams, was a great favourite with Henry VIII. In a tournament at Westminster, on May-day, 1540, Richard, who had won his spurs and was now a Knight, performed daring deeds of valour, and, as the King's champion against the challengers of France, Flanders, Spain, and Scotland, dexterously unhorsed his opponents until the merry Monarch vociferously called him from the lists and laughingly said: "Formerly thou wast my Dick, but hereafter thou shalt be my diamond." With that he took a diamond ring from his finger and bade Sir Richard wear it, commanding that he ever after bear such an one in the fore gamb of the demi-lion in his crest. And this ring appears on the armorial bearings of the Protector a century later. It was this Sir Richard who first assumed the name of Cromwell, acting under the advice of the King and out of compliment to his celebrated but unfortunate relative, Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex; and in the deeds and wills which were thereafter recorded, the name is written Williams, *alias* Cromwell.³ Sir Richard was a useful and valiant Knight, and for his part in suppressing an insurrection of His Majesty's Catholic subjects in Lincolnshire he received

¹ "He was in the service of King Henry VII's uncle, and some say even Privy Counsellor to the King himself, but more probably of the Privy Chamber, as a pedigree gives it."—Noble, vol. i., p. 4.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 5, 239. *Short View of the Late Troubles in England*, by Sir William Dugdale, Oxford, 1681, p. 458.

³ Even after the Restoration some of the members of the Cromwell family, finding the Protector's great name in contempt, again adopted the old name of Williams. Noble, vol. i., p. 35. The name was used in Oliver's marriage settlement, and it appeared in the inscription over the bed on which the Protector's effigy lay in State.

a grant of the nunnery of Hinchinbrook, together with other spoils which flowed from Henry's demolition of the monasteries. In the war with France (1543) he was sent over in command of the King's infantry forces; and on his return to England the King bestowed upon him various marks of the Royal favour.

Sir Henry (Williams) Cromwell, the eldest son and heir of Sir Richard-of-the-Diamond, enjoyed the esteem of Elizabeth and was knighted by the Virgin Queen in 1563. In the course of his public services he sat in the House of Commons for Huntingdon, was four times Sheriff of Huntingdon and Cambridge shires, and was Commissioner in the inquiry concerning the Draining of the Fens, a matter which thenceforward engaged the attention of the Cromwell family for one hundred years. His domestic establishments were in Huntingdonshire, Ramsey being his summer and Hinchinbrook his winter seat. Some elaborate additions were made to Hinchinbrook House and Sir Henry expended his ample means with so much munificence that he was called the Golden Knight throughout all that country. Whenever he came to Ramsey from Hinchinbrook "he threw considerable sums of money to the poor townsmen." The Golden Knight seems to have been a chivalrous gentleman of the old school and he was universally beloved for his beneficence. He was twice married. His first wife was Joan, daughter of Sir Ralph Warren, Knight, twice Lord Mayor of London. After her death he espoused a gentlewoman of the name of Weeks, who in turn died of a lingering illness, and the popular superstition at once claimed that she had been bewitched. Our patient biographer, Mr. Noble, relates this incident in connection with her mysterious sufferings and death:

"John Samwell, Alice his wife, and Ann their daughter, then inhabitants of Warboys, were ridiculously supposed to be the authors of this lady's death, and were committed to prison. The mother (who seems by age to have been weak and decrepit), was so seized and tortured in prison, and kept constantly without sleep, that her faculties (much impaired before) became now entirely lost, and at length she confessed any the most strange fooleries, that the malice and folly of her enemies could devise; in consequence of which they were all, in defiance of common-sense,

tried before Mr. Justice Fenner, April 4, 1593, and convicted of the fact, of not only being the cause of the death of Lady Cromwell, but also bewitching five of Mr. Throgmorton's children, and seven of his servants, the gaoler's man, etc. No mercy, we may readily imagine, would be shown to these unbefriended victims, when even Majesty degraded itself by writing the most idle nonsense (some years after this) to prove, not only that there were witches, but recommending certain means to be used as infallible ways to discover them; they were therefore all three publicly murdered, suffering amidst the acclamations of a barbarous and rude populace, who rejoiced that they themselves were relieved from (as they supposed) dangerous neighbours. It was found upon their conviction, that their goods, which amounted in value to £40, were forfeited to Sir Henry as lord of the manor of Warboys; but he, unwilling to possess himself of the supposed felon goods, gave them to the corporation conditionally, that they procured from Queen's College in Cambridge a doctor or bachelor of divinity to preach every day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, a sermon against the sin of witchcraft in one of the churches in Huntingdon."

This sermon was preached annually as late as Mr. Noble's day, 1787.¹

The Golden Knight had eleven children born of his first marriage, his second yielding no progeny. These were six sons and five daughters, of whom Sir Oliver Cromwell was the first son and heir, and Robert, the father of the Lord Protector, the second son.

Upon the death of the Golden Knight (January 6, 1603), Sir Oliver, the Protector's uncle, established his residence at Hinchinbrook and lived a life of prodigality which was perhaps not surpassed in England. He was knighted at the Court of Elizabeth in 1598.² When James VI. of Scotland, after waiting a score of years with ill-disguised impatience for the death of Elizabeth, came over upon her demise to become James I. of England (1603), he stopped at Hinchinbrook with a large retinue, and was sumptuously entertained from Wednesday until Friday as Sir Oliver Cromwell's guest. The memory of this hospitality was ever afterwards gratefully cherished by the King. The abundance and variety of the meats and wines were rare even to Majesty; it was said that no

¹ Noble, vol. i., p. 25.

² *The Progresses of King James the First*, John Nichols, London, 1828, 4 vols., vol. i., p. 99. Noble, vol. i., p. 37.

subject had ever furnished such feast to a king ; and Sir Oliver's gifts to the Monarch at parting included a cup of gold, superb horses, fine hounds and hawks, besides " fifty pounds amongst his Majesty's officers." " Morry, mon," said James in his broad Scotch tongue, " thou hast treated me better than any one since I left Edinburgh." The high esteem which was entertained by the Court for Sir Oliver and his family was shown by the subsequent visits of King James to Hinchinbrook in 1605, 1616, and 1617¹; and Sir Oliver, beholding the darkest hours of his country's history, never wavered in his adherence to the Royal fortunes. He died on the 28th of August, 1655, in the ninety-third year of his age.

Robert Cromwell, brother to Sir Oliver, and father of the Lord Protector, was a poor man and possessed an estate in the town of Huntingdon, the total income of which did not exceed £300 a year. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Steward, of Ely, and widow of William Lynne, a gentleman of Bassingbourne. It is said that she was related to the Royal House of Stuart, and the usual genealogies exist to support the doubtful claim. Her family had been enriched from the revenues of the Church upon the spoliation of the monasteries, and her great-uncle, Robert Steward, D.D., was for twenty years the last Catholic Prior, and then, for twenty years more, the first Protestant Dean, of Ely. She was a woman of most exalted virtue and was gifted with a wise sense of domestic economy. In the management of their living, and especially of the brewery (which it has been impossible for the fond biographers of Oliver to explain or laugh away), she exercised a guiding care. By her frugality she was enabled to bestow the advantages of a modest education upon the seven children who lived to maturity out of a family of ten, and afterwards to provide each with a fair settlement in life. Oliver, the only son who lived, possessed her tenderest affection ; which he most ardently reciprocated. In his young manhood he deferred to her advice, and later, when he had achieved honour and power,

¹ Nichols, vol. i., p. 99.

he established her in the Royal Palace of Whitehall, and when she died he buried her in Westminster Abbey.

Oliver Cromwell, afterwards the Lord Protector, was the fifth child of this marriage, and the only son who grew to manhood. When he was four years old (1603), his good grandfather, the Golden Knight, died, and Oliver had thus an early taste of solemn and woful surroundings.

All attempts to relate the story of his early life have failed for lack of authentic information. The few incidents of his boyhood days which have come down to us are nothing more than village traditions. Among them is the story that, one day when he was sent to Hinchinbrook to visit his grandfather, an ape seized him in the cradle and carried him to the roof of the house.¹ Again, there is the incredible tale of his wrestling when four years old with Prince Charles, one year younger, an encounter in which his victory was said to prophesy the outcome of their later combat. A third narrative tells us that one day, while reposing after a fatiguing sport, a gigantic figure having the appearance of a woman drew the curtains of his bed, and after gazing at him for a silent moment, told him that he would become the greatest man in England.² The spectre did not mention the word king, and it was gravely asserted that this significant omission caused him to reject the Royal title when his Parliament pressed him to accept it. Another tradition, based on the doubtful authority of the Royalist, Heath, relates that Oliver, while at school in Huntingdon, enacted the part of Tactus in an absurd play entitled *The Five Senses*. Tactus, after stumbling over a robe and crown, soliloquises in this ridiculous fashion :

"*Tact.* Tactus, thy sneezing somewhat did portend.
Was ever man so fortunate as I ?
To break his shins at such a stumbling-block !
Roses and bays pack hence ; this crown and robe
My brows and body circles and invests !

¹ The Rev. Dr. Lort's MSS., quoted in Noble, vol. i., p. 92.

² This story is told in Heath's *Flagellum* (London, 1663), p. 6, by Sir Philip Warwick (p. 275), and by other old writers. Noble says Cromwell mentioned it often when he was in the height of his glory. Noble, vol. i., p. 95.

How gallantly it fits me ! Sure the slave
 Measured my head that wrought this coronet.
 They lie that say complexions cannot change ;
 My blood 's ennobled, and I am transformed
 Unto the sacred temper of a king.
 Methinks I hear my noble Parasites
 Styling me Cæsar or great Alexander,
 Licking my feet, and wondering where I got
 This precious ointment. How my pace is mended !
 How princely do I speak ! How sharp I threaten !
 Peasants, I 'll curb your headstrong impudence,
 And make you tremble when the lion roars.
 Ye earth-bred worms ! Oh, for a looking-glass !
 Poets will write whole volumes of this change !
 Where 's my attendants ? Come hither, sirrahs, quickly,
 Or, by the wings of Hermes—" ¹

Again, Oliver was saved from drowning by Mr. Johnston, a clergyman, who when asked in later years by Cromwell if he remembered it, replied : " Yes, I do ; but I wish I had put you in rather than see you in arms against your King ! " ²

But we do know that when he was very young his education was first committed to the Rev. Mr. Long, of Huntingdon, and then to Dr. Beard, master of the free grammar school in that place, a man of erudition and sense.³ That he made progress in his studies and possessed a reasonably studious habit, is proved by the strong mental development which his letters exhibit. He had a good understanding of Greek and Latin literature, and when he came into power he encouraged men of letters with liberality and discretion. He collected one of the best libraries in England, and an official despatch to The Hague in the days of the Protectorate describes an interview of two hours between the Dutch Ambassador, Beveringe, and the Protector, in which Oliver gave his answers in Latin.⁴ This record

¹ Heath's *Flagellum* p. 7. Forster's *Statesmen of the Commonwealth* (Harpers, 1846), p. 397. ² Noble, vol. i., p. 93. ³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 93.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 112 ; Forster, *Statesmen of the Commonwealth*, p. 398. Lest my frequent references to Noble may be misunderstood, I would remind the reader that it would be extremely difficult to relate the origin and early history of Cromwell had it not been for Noble's laborious and prodigious collection of time-worn pedigrees, records, and traditions.

of his scholarship is sufficient to refute the statements of the Royalist writers that his entire youth was passed in debauchery. His warm admirer, Mark Noble, quoting from the Royalist writers, Heath, Dugdale, and Warwick, has said that Oliver was a fast youth, that there was much sowing of wild oats, that gambling was his favourite pastime, and that there was a vein of coarseness in him which led to acts of extreme vulgarity.¹ But these stories are not supported by any evidence that may be accepted as entirely credible ; and they are doubtless founded upon partisan exaggeration of a country lad's indiscreet pranks. Sir Philip Warwick, a careful but biassed writer, says :

“ The first years of his [Cromwell's] manhood were spent in a dissolute course of life, in good-fellowship and gaming, which afterwards he seemed very sensible of and sorrowful for ; and as if it had been a good spirit that had guided him therein, he used a good method upon his conversion, for he declared he was ready to make restitution unto any man who would accuse him, or whom he could accuse himself to have wronged (to his honour I speak this, for I think the public acknowledgments men make of the public evils they have done to be the most glorious trophies they can have assigned to them) ; when he was thus civilised, he joined himself to men of his own temper, who pretended unto transports and revelations.”²

The wild career which his enemies have ascribed to his youth could not have developed to any serious extent when Oliver, on the 23d of April, 1616, being then only seventeen years old, entered Cambridge University as a fellow of Sidney-Sussex College.

In the next year (1617) Oliver's father died, and he, the only son among seven living children, became at eighteen a young heir, weighed with grave responsibilities, and compelled thus early to assume the direction of affairs. This bereavement forced his retirement from college, and he speedily returned to Huntingdon. There is a tradition that he shortly afterwards came to London and engaged in the study of law. Carrington says : “ He came to Lincoln's Inn, where he associated

¹ Noble copies a revolting story from Heath's *Flagellum* (vol. i., p. 98), exposing Oliver's conduct at a mask at Hinchinbrook, by which Cromwell's standard of fun is shown to be very low. I do not think the story is believable, although Mr. Forster credits it (p. 398).

² Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 276.

himself with those of the best rank and quality, and the most ingenious persons ; for though he were of a nature not adverse to study and contemplation, yet he seemed rather addicted to conversation, and the reading of men and their several tempers, than to a continual poring upon authors.”¹

On one of his visits to Huntingdon an incident transpired which had well-nigh left a permanent stain upon his early life. This was an attempt of Cromwell's to seize the management of the estate of his uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, through an inquest of lunacy which he procured upon his uncle's mind. The inquiry failed of its expected result, much, we may presume, to Oliver's discomfiture. The story was first printed in Sir William Dugdale's *Short View of the Late Troubles*, and pictures Cromwell in financial straits making application to his uncle for assistance. “Finding,” says Dugdale, “that by a smooth way of application to him he could not prevail, he endeavoured by colour of law to lay hold of his estate, representing him as a person not able to govern it.” Sir Thomas was naturally incensed at this conduct, but Oliver's mother, and his uncle, old Sir Oliver, undertook to restore peace between them with so much success that Sir Thomas, dying soon after, left the coveted property by will to his over-impatient nephew. The only excuse that can be presented in Oliver's behalf is that he was sincerely convinced of the mental incapacity of the old Knight.²

His studies of the law at Lincoln's Inn were probably of a cursory nature. That he came to London at frequent intervals, if he did not indeed reside there, is proved by a very interesting record. In Saint Giles's Church, Cripplegate, London, is a carefully preserved record containing the following entry of his marriage :

“Oliver Cromwell to Elizabeth Bouchier, August 22, 1620.”

He was married early, being at this time only twenty-one years and four months old. His bride, one year his senior, was

¹ Forster, p. 401. Cromwell's name has never been found on any of the registers of the Inns of Court.

² *A Short View of the Late Troubles in England*, by Sir William Dugdale, London, 1681, p. 459.

the daughter of Sir James Bouchier, a Knight who had acquired affluent means as a London furrier, and had established a country seat at Felsted, in Essex. She was a woman of noble spirit, and of gentle and amiable manners. At their marriage Cromwell had conveyed to her, "for the term of her life, for her jointure, all that parsonage house of Hartford, with all the glebe lands and tithes," in the County of Huntingdon.¹ But some years later, when his necessities seemed to require it, this docile and excellent woman surrendered her jointure, which went to the extinguishment of his debts, together with the ample fortune which she had brought him.² There is a letter

¹ Noble, vol. i., p. 124.

² It is with great reluctance that I even allude to the charge of marital infidelity against the Protector. I mention it here only to refute it. His friends hotly denied that he ever strayed from the obligations of his marriage; and the whole case against him, which is a very weak one, rests on the following gossip, found in Noble, vol. i., p. 126: "The Protector Oliver, though a great devotee, is known to have indulged himself, after he arrived at power, with the company of ladies, and that not in the most innocent manner. Lady Dysert, afterward Duchess of Lauderdale, and Mrs. Lambert, have been frequently given as his mistresses. They were ladies of very different accomplishments: the former was beautiful, witty, learned, and full of intrigue; Mrs. Lambert employed herself only in praying and singing hymns. . . . His acquaintance with the gay Lady Dysert gave such offence to the godly, that he was obliged to decline his visits to her; and it was thought that the General Tollemache owed his birth to Oliver; but there could no hurt arise from holding heavenly meditation with Mrs. Lambert. Heath in his *Flagellum*, says Mrs. Lambert was a woman of good birth, and good parts, and of pleasing attractions both for mind and body. There is an history printed of a pretended natural son of the Protector's, but it is too marvellous to be true; probably, however, Oliver had natural children, one of whom might be Dr. Millington, after whose name, in the register of Strenshaw, in Worcestershire (the birthplace of the humorous Butler) is, 'Query, was not he a bastard of Oliver Cromwell?' and I am the more inclined to think this true, because in the postscript of a letter from Ursula Hornyhold, dated from London, Dec. 4, 1744, to a gentleman in the vicinity of that place, is, 'Did you ever hear it said that Dr. Millington was illegitimate?—here has been talk that Dr. Millington was a bastard of Oliver Cromwell.' The scandal it would have given, had the Puritans known of his amours, and the advantages the Cavaliers would have made of it, would be sufficient reasons for his keeping matters of this kind from the eyes of the public; besides, though Her Highness was an obedient wife, she was not without spirit and sensibility; but though she might know that she had reason to suspect the Protector, we cannot suppose she carried it to such unreasonable lengths as to be jealous of Christina, Queen of Sweden, as some pretend." All of which, I must protest, is utterly worthless, and must be rejected.

from this lady to her husband, written after they had been married thirty years, which exhibits so much tender affection between this exalted pair, that our history would be incomplete if it were left out. "My Lord Chief Justice," is Oliver St. John; "President," is John Bradshaw, the President of the Regicides Court; "Speaker," is William Lenthall, of the House of Commons:

" 27th December, 1650.

" My Dearest,—I wonder you should blame me for writing no oftener, when I have sent three for one: I cannot but think they are miscarried. Truly if I know my own heart, I should as soon neglect myself as to omit the least thought towards you, who in doing it, I must do it to myself. But when I do write, my Dear, I seldom have any satisfactory answer; which makes me think my writing is slighted; as well it may: but I cannot but think your love covers my weakness and infirmities.

" I should rejoice to hear your desire in seeing me; but I desire to submit to the Providence of God; hoping the Lord, who hath separated us, and hath often brought us together again, will in His good time bring us again, to the praise of His name. Truly my life is but half a life in your absence, did not the Lord make it up in Himself, which I must acknowledge to the praise of His grace.

" I would you would think to write sometimes to your dear friend my Lord Chief Justice, of whom I have often put you in mind. And truly, my Dear, if you would think of what I put you in mind of some, it might be to as much purpose as others; writing sometimes a letter to the President, and sometimes to the Speaker. Indeed, my Dear, you cannot think the wrong you do yourself in the want of a letter, though it were but seldom. I pray think on; and so rest,

" Yours in all faithfulness,

" ELIZABETH CROMWELL." ¹

Elizabeth was a woman of warm heart, faithful in her affections, and without genius. In the elevated station in which she afterwards flourished, she preserved a good sense and a homely wisdom which protected her from ridicule. While her husband trusted her judgment somewhat less than that of his mother, he leaned much upon her steadfast sympathy and always cherished a fondness for her society.

After their marriage he took his wife home to live with his mother at Huntingdon, and settled down to a life that was quiet and industrious, engaging himself about the farm, studying the drainage of the fens, taking the part of a good citizen in such

¹ Milton's *State Papers* (London, 1743), p. 40.

affairs as might concern the town, and rejoicing in the birth of his children. His first son was born in the year following his marriage, and in all there came five sons and four daughters, of whom three sons and all the daughters lived to maturity.¹

¹ *Oliver Cromwell's Children.*

(Married to Elizabeth Bourchier, 22d August, 1620.)

1. Robert, baptised at St. John's Church, Huntingdon, 13th October, 1621; died while at Felsted Free Grammar School, in Essex, 31st May, 1639.
 2. Oliver, baptised 6th February, 1623; went to Felsted school; a captain in Troop Eight of the Earl of Bedford's Horse, 1642; at Peterborough Cathedral when the Puritan soldiers broke its stained glass, 1643; and died of smallpox at Newport Pagnell shortly before the battle of Marston Moor.
 3. Bridget, baptised at St. John's, Huntingdon, 4th August, 1624; married to Henry Ireton, 15th June, 1646; widowed, 26th November, 1651; married to Charles Fleetwood in 1652; died at Stoke Newington, near London, September, 1681.
 4. Richard, born at Huntingdon, 4th October, and baptised at St. John's, 19th October, 1626; attended Felsted school. Noble says that he was entered in Lincoln's Inn, 27th May, 1647,—his name cannot now be found there; married, in 1649, Richard Mayer's daughter, of Hursley, Hants; first in Parliament, 1654; succeeded his father as Protector, 1658; died at Cheshunt, 12th July, 1712, aged 86.
 5. Henry; born at Huntingdon, 20th January, 1628; baptised at All Saint's Church, 29th same month; Felsted school; in the army at sixteen; Captain in 1647; Colonel in 1649, and in Ireland with his father; Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1657; in 1660, his father being dead and his weak brother deprived of power, he retired to Spinney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire; died 23d March, 1674; buried in Wicken church; a man of amiability and gentleness, and having much of the force of his father's character.
 6. Elizabeth, baptised at St. John's, Huntingdon, 2d July, 1629; married to John Claypoole, 1646 (Noble, in vol. ii., p. 375, says Claypoole married *Mary*, the second daughter,—an obvious slip of the pen); died at Hampton Court, 6th August, 1658,—four weeks before her father.
 7. James, named for his mother's father; baptised at St. John's, Huntingdon, 8th January, 1632; buried next day.
 8. Mary, baptised at St. John's, Huntingdon, 9th February, 1637; married Thomas, Viscount Fauconberg, 18th November, 1657; died 14th March, 1712.
 9. Frances, baptised at St. Mary's, Ely, 6th December, 1638. It was said that Charles II. seriously desired to marry her, hoping thereby to obtain Cromwell's consent to the restoration, but that Oliver rejected the alliance, fearing that Charles would never forgive him his father's death. She married Robert Rich, grandson to Earl of Warwick, 11th November, 1657. He died three months later, 16th February, 1658; and she married Sir John Russell, 7th May, 1663. Died 27th January, 1720.
- The Protector's widow died at Norborough, her son-in-law Claypoole's place, in Northamptonshire, 8th October, 1672.

It can be well understood how this pastoral life, unfolding its beautiful domestic incidents, and strengthening from day to day the ties of family love, would gradually develop the divinity that slept in the soul of Oliver Cromwell. The Puritan spirit of the age was beginning to exercise its influence upon him. Dr. Simcott, Cromwell's physician in Huntingdon, told Sir Philip Warwick "that for many years his patient was a most splenetic man, and had fancies about the cross in that town; and that he had been called up to him at midnight, and such unseasonable hours, very many times, upon a strong fancy, which made him believe that he was then dying."¹ A valuable piece of professional information was that from Dr. Simcott, and it reveals the great struggles which night and day racked that mighty heart while the problems of eternity were pressing themselves upon him.² But the light came at last to his groping soul. He formed his first clear understanding of Christianity; not indeed the broad and generous Christian spirit of to-day, but the dark and dogmatic system of that age which he, and those who believed as he did, received from Calvin and the Puritan reformers. He was converted to a firm belief in Christianity, and went heart and soul with the Puritans.

Waller, his kinsman, or rather Hampden's kinsman, for the poet was not, strictly speaking, akin to Cromwell, wrote thus of him:

" Oft have we wonder'd, how you hid in peace
A mind proportioned to such things as these;
How such a ruling spirit you could restrain
And practise first over yourself to reign.
Your private life did a just pattern give
How fathers, husbands, pious sons should live;
Born to command, your princely virtues slept
Like humble David's while the flock he kept."

¹ Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*, Edinburgh, 1813, p. 275.

² When Oliver went up to London (1628) to sit in the third Parliament of Charles I., he was still "spleen-struck" at times, as shown by this entry in the diary of Sir Theodore Mayerne, the famous Court physician, "15th September, 1628, for Mons. Cromwell *valde melancholicus*." F. Harrison's *Oliver Cromwell* (McMillan & Co., 1888), p. 31.

And he was prospering in worldly things. In John Milton's panegyric there is this lofty passage: "Being now arrived to a ripe and mature age, all which time he spent as a private person, noted for nothing so much as the culture of pure religion and an integrity of life, he was grown rich at home; and enlarging his hopes with reliance in God for any the most exalted times, he nursed his great soul in silence."

We would like to leave him there, in the quiet town on the banks of the winding river Ouse, before his mind had conceived the thought of dominion. His lot would have been happier though without glory, had he been permitted to pass his life away with his family, and his live stock, and his fens, and left the King and the Commons to fight it out. But in 1628 Charles I. called his third Parliament, and Oliver Cromwell was elected a member for the town of Huntingdon.





CHAPTER II.

CHARLES I.—SPANISH ADVENTURES—FIRST PARLIAMENTS.

The Proposed Spanish Match—Popular Dissatisfaction—Opposition from Rome—The Palatinate—Charles's Adventures in Spain—Efforts to Make him a Catholic—The Dispensation—Leaves Spain Secretly—The Match Broken—War with Spain—Accession of Charles—Married to Henrietta Maria—His First Parliament—Revenue Disputes—La Rochelle—The Huguenots—The Puritans Alarmed—Parliament Attacks Buckingham—Dissolution—Arbitrary Taxes—Second Parliament—Tonnage and Poundage—Dissolution—Reflections on the Controversy—The Unhappy Catholic Marriage—War with France—Third Parliament.

WHEN Charles Stuart, by the death of his brother Henry, became Prince of Wales and heir to the British throne, it was considered a public misfortune; for Charles from his youth was noted as an autocratic and ceremonial Prince, with a gift for polemic discussion which fitted him better for the Church than the State.

While Prince Henry lived, King James had conceived an overpowering ambition to contract a matrimonial alliance with the Royal House of Spain, and a treaty had been in negotiation for several years under which the Prince of Wales was betrothed to the Infanta. On Henry's demise Charles was substituted on the part of England. The English Ambassador pressed the alliance with great assiduity, but the Spanish Court procrastinated until their good faith was gravely suspected. The concessions in matters of religion which were demanded by the Spaniards inflamed the popular prejudices of the English, and the proposed match provoked general disfavour and resentment. A knowledge of this condition of public feeling in Eng-

land impelled the Pope to use every obstacle to break the match; and the Spanish King never intended until the last moment to permit the nuptials to be celebrated.¹ The Earl of Bristol was Ambassador from England in this affair, but in spite of the humiliating assent of King James to every fresh demand for concessions, he was unable to bring the Infanta home to England.

Coupled with this long-sought marriage was another feature of English policy which was to go hand in hand with the match. The beautiful Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I., had been espoused by Frederick, the Elector Palatine, who, at the breaking out of the Thirty Years' War, had been deposed by the Catholic League as King of Bohemia. The English Court craved the assistance of the Spaniards in the restoration of this Prince. The Spaniards as a Catholic nation demurred. France, Germany, and Rome opposed the English claims. But the fatuous heart of James was led to hope that by an alliance with Spain he could secure both the marriage and the restoration. It was in this emergency, when reasons of State demanded the early marriage of the Prince, that the Duke of Buckingham, then the favourite at Court, proposed the quixotic scheme of a personal visit to Spain by the Prince and himself.²

The King opposed it, but Charles pleaded earnestly for the Royal permission, which was reluctantly granted. The romantic excursion was arranged with all the secrecy which such a rash adventure required. On the 17th of February, 1624, accompanied by only two followers, the Prince and the Duke left

¹ Rushworth's *Historical Collections* (London, 1721, 8 vols.), vol. i., p. 71. The young King of Spain writes to Olivarez: "The King, my father, declared at his death that his intent never was to marry my sister, the Infanta Donna Maria, with the Prince of Wales, which your uncle, Don Balthasar, understood, and so treated this match ever with intention to delay it; notwithstanding it is now so far advanced that, considering all the averseness unto it of the Infanta, it is time to seek some means to divert the treaty, which I would have you find out, and I will make it good whatsoever it be. But in all other things procure the satisfaction of the King of Great Britain (who hath deserved much) and it shall content me, so that it be not in the match."

² *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, by Edward, Earl of Clarendon (Oxford, 1826, 8 vols.), vol. i., p. 21.

London, well disguised, and rode in haste to Dover, whence they sailed to Boulogne, and then by horse reached Paris. While they tarried there to observe the splendour of the French Court, the Prince, with an emotion which somewhat diminished the ardour of his present mission, beheld the beautiful Henrietta Maria, the sister of Louis XIII. and England's future Queen.

On the 7th of March they arrived in Madrid, where, in spite of their attempted secrecy, Olivarez, the Prime Minister, had already received advice of their coming. The Spanish King at once arranged for the entertainment of the Prince on a scale of magnificence which could not have been surpassed. It was ordered that on all occasions of meeting Charles should have precedence of the King; that he should make his entrance into the Royal Palace with the degree of ceremonial which was used by the Kings of Spain at their coronation; that he should reside under the King's roof; that a hundred of the guard should attend him; and that he be obeyed as the King's own self.

Receptions, processions, and public honours of every sort overwhelmed him; but in the midst of them all he was carefully guarded from any opportunity of meeting the Infanta, and the joyous pleasures of courtship were jealously denied him. After a time he was indeed permitted to see the Princess, but only in the presence of the Court, and the conversation which he was expected to address to her was written out and supplied to him beforehand by Olivarez, which was certainly a mean indignity upon a Prince so accomplished and correct.¹

Charles now became aware of a settled purpose on the part of those both in Spain and at Rome, to secure his conversion to the Catholic faith, or end the match. The day following their arrival Olivarez had hinted at this to Buckingham, and Bristol had soon after informed Charles that there was no other expectation in Court or public than to see him renounce his own convictions and assume those of the Infanta. To Bristol Charles replied: "I wonder what you have ever found in me, that you

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 84; Clarendon, vol. i., p. 37; *Buckingham's Narrative to Parliament*, Rushworth, vol. i., p. 121.

should conceive I would ever be so base and unworthy as for a wife to change my religion.”¹ The truth of Bristol’s remark was corroborated by a letter which Pope Gregory XV. addressed to Charles, urging him to adopt the ancient religion which his fathers had practised.² He wrote in terms of great courtesy urging upon the Prince’s attention his favourite argument, that a Church that had once been the seat of truth could not now live in error. A letter from the same didactic pen implored Buckingham to perpetuate his own name in the Book of Life by compassing the Prince’s conversion, thus adding a soul to salvation. Charles answered the letter politely, pressing for the dispensation and promising his protection to his Catholic subjects in England, but offered no prospects that his own convictions would change. Death claimed Gregory before this letter reached him, and his successor, Urban VIII., wrote to both Charles and his father, still pressing the Prince’s reconciliation to the Roman dogmas.

This unseemly attack upon his conscience, the many humiliations in his addresses to the Infanta, and the undisguised duplicity of the Spanish Court in its present treatment of the match, cooled the affections of the Prince, and he reflected upon a speedy return to England. It was not long before he discovered, however, that the Spaniards had set a watch on him, and he sent home a despairing message to his father, that if the King of Spain should detain him a prisoner, he would be pleased never to be thought of again as a son, and bade him reflect upon the good of his sister and the safety of the English Crown.³

The strained situation of this affair was increased by a trivial misunderstanding which arose between Olivarez and Buckingham; and just when matters were become most gloomy for the young Prince, the dispensation arrived from Rome, and the Spanish King announced his readiness to proceed with the marriage. Charles presented a message from his father com-

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 252.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 78–83, where the correspondence is given.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 123.

manding his immediate return. The Spaniard pressed him with apparent cordiality to remain, and the Infanta added her solicitations. Now, and not until now, was Spain in earnest about the match; and now was England as much opposed to its further consideration.

It is at this stage of the negotiation that we perceive the first indication of that elasticity of conscience and lack of sincerity in Charles, which were afterwards developed into enormous defects in his character.

The question of the Prince's ability to depart from Spain before the solemnisation of the marriage ceremony was full of grave doubts. Upon learning that a watch was kept on his movements, he sent Buckingham to tell them, that although they had stolen thither out of love, they would never steal thence out of fear.¹ But this courageous tone was simulated; for being now resolved against the match, and fearing a consequence that he would never again see England, he wrote in deep despair to the King his father: "You must now, Sir, look upon my sister and her children, never thinking more of me, and forgetting that you ever had such a son."² He communicated to His Spanish Majesty the necessity for his instant return to his native land. Philip was startled at this announcement, and urged upon him that, having waited so many years for a wife, he would stay some few months longer. He told him that if he would consent to postpone the nuptials until spring, he would sign a blank power and permit him to write his own conditions for the restitution of the Palatinate. Charles's secret resolution was inexorable, but he executed a proxy under the most solemn oath before high Heaven, authorising the espousals to be made in his name by the King of Spain and Don Carlos, his brother. This paper was delivered into the custody of the Earl of Bristol, with direction that the ceremony take place within ten days after ratification by the Pope. But a creature of the Duke of Buckingham's was entrusted with an instrument commanding the Earl to stay the delivery of the

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 123.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 103.

proxy until the receipt of further instructions from England, and Bristol was kept in ignorance of this instruction until the Prince had sailed away.¹

When Charles returned home without the Infanta all England was ablaze with bonfires. King James sent an embassy to Madrid to thank Philip for the magnificent hospitality which he had extended to his son. But new conditions touching the Palatinate were insisted upon to the discomfiture of the Spanish Court.

So grave was this international question now become that James called a Parliament which was entertained by Buckingham with a highly wrought description of the Spanish adventure.² The Duke, formerly envied and mistrusted, was now a popular hero. Some of the members, with a mischoice of words which in that Puritan age smacked of impiety, declared that he was their Saviour. The Parliament presented an address to the King, advising that the treaties both for the marriage and the Palatinate be broken off, and offered to bestow upon him a very large appropriation if war should result.³

And war did result, but it was a pusillanimous war. Twelve thousand troops were despatched under the command of Count Mansfeldt, a German soldier of fortune, and supported by the Navy under the Duke of Buckingham, commissioned to secure the restoration of the Palatinate to King James's son-in-law, the Elector Frederick. The attempt ended in defeat, and when his troops returned with decimated ranks King James had been gathered to his fathers. His last words to Charles, now betrothed to the French Princess, Henrietta Maria, exhorted him to love his wife but not her religion; to take especial care of the children of his sister, the Queen of Bohemia; and to exercise all his power to re-establish himself in the ancient dignity of England's former kings. Nothing was said to the young Prince concerning those great principles of civil rights

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 103.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 119-126.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 135.

which were burning themselves upon the mind of the nation. With a last gasp for prerogative, on the 27th of March, 1625, he yielded up his spirit.¹

Charles the First! Blushing in youth, affluent in health and strength, descended from a long line of kings, possessing great dignity of mind, bearing a noble and commanding carriage, beloved for his virtue and soberness, and full of that sweetness of hope which sat well on his twenty-five years of life,—gifted thus, he seemed an ideal monarch, and the nation hailed his accession with great joy.

The contract of marriage with Henrietta Maria, Catholic daughter to the Protestant champion, Henry IV. of France, had been already duly executed. The French Duke of Chevreux, acting as proxy for Charles, was attended by a retinue containing the flower of the English nobility. Cardinal Richelieu pronounced the ceremony which made the Princess Queen of Great Britain. Then, while the nuptial mass was sung, the English party withdrew to the house of their Ambassador; a mournful presage that they, having escaped one Catholic marriage, were not prepared to divest themselves of prejudice against another. But while this shadow of mistrust was present at the marriage feast, there was nevertheless great rejoicing over the union of two young hearts in that exalted station. The Duke of Buckingham, accounted to be the handsomest and courtliest man in Europe, came over to escort the Queen to her lord. A Royal Navy convoyed her across the Channel. On arriving at Dover the youthful Queen, then only fifteen years and seven months old, being somewhat discomposed by a slight sea-sickness, sent to Charles, begging him not to come until the morrow. At ten o'clock on the following morning the King came with all his Court to receive her. She was at breakfast, but flew to meet him. She tried to kneel and kiss his hand, but he caught her in his arms and kissed her. She then began a set speech. "Sire, I am come into this Your Majesty's country to be at your command." A flood of girlish tears prevented her from continuing, and Charles, to

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 155.

whose heart they appealed more earnestly than her words, took her aside and soothed her with his vows of devoted love. He playfully expressed surprise that she appeared so much taller than he expected, and glanced down at her feet, thinking that she stood on tiptoe. Perceiving his look, she said in French, with her head reaching to his shoulder: "Sire, I stand upon my own feet. Thus high am I; neither higher nor lower."

She then besought him, out of her respect and love to him as her husband, that he would not be angry with her for her faults of ignorance or youth before he had first instructed her how to banish them, and especially desired him to use no third person when she did anything amiss, but to inform her of her failing himself. To this womanly appeal the King granted his affectionate submission.¹

The first Parliament began on the eighteenth day of June, 1625. The King's necessities for money were imperative. The war with Spain, undertaken by his predecessor in response to the desire of Parliament, the expenses of his marriage, the funeral and unpaid debts of his father, the promise of subsidies to the King of Denmark for the war against the Catholic League,—these and other obligations called for generous supplies. So confident was Charles that the loyalty and affection of this Parliament would dictate to them the granting of a sufficient appropriation, that he would ask for no sum, nor would he allow his ministers to influence the amount. Every sentiment of national honour and religion demanded a wise grant of funds. The disappointment of the King can therefore be well understood when, without any attempt to disclose a motive for their parsimony, they voted him, for all the expenses of his grave situation, the sum of two subsidies, equal to about one hundred and twelve thousand pounds.²

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 170; *Lives of the Queens of England*, by Agnes Strickland, 6 vols., London, 1888, vol. iv., p. 155. It might be said here that the English common people, finding it difficult to pronounce the Queen's name with the French accent that was used at Court, were authorised by royal proclamation to call her Queen Mary, and "Queen Mary" was the battle cry of the Cavaliers at Naseby.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 174.

That this grant was niggardly and detestable, and calculated only to stir the King's resentment, cannot be denied. And yet the men who sat in that Parliament were the ablest in England. Among them were Sir John Eliot, the most prominent of the agitators for constitutional government; Sir Edward Coke, wise in statesmanship and learned in the law; John Pym, unsurpassed for his fearless advocacy of popular rights; and Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards risen to melancholy celebrity as the Earl of Strafford. The proprieties of the case, the necessities of the existing complications, could not be forgotten in the deliberations of these men. It is rather to be inferred that the education of the public mind through centuries of monarchical government had produced a universal desire to confine within constitutional bounds the powers of the Royal authority, and to perform by consent of the people in Parliament a great many of those functions which had been previously exercised by the sole pleasure of the Sovereign. Swayed partly by their love of liberty, and partly by the fear of an unwholesome influence of the Catholic marriage, the subjects of Charles I. had determined at the commencement of his reign to use those methods of popular agitation which finally drove the refractory House of Stuart out of England and reduced the King's actual prerogative to a mere semblance of power. So they voted him two subsidies, when twelve would hardly have permitted him to meet his engagements.

The King preserved an admirable patience in this extremity, and sought to move the Parliament by explaining to them the plans which had reduced him to such urgent necessities. He told them that by a promise of money to the King of Denmark he had secured a pledge from that monarch to enter Germany with an army and conduct a war of diversion; that a large force of English soldiers under Count Mansfeldt was ready to invade Spain; that the maintenance of the fleet and the defence of Ireland required liberal provision; that he was obliged to press the war for the restitution of the Palatinate to his kindred; that debts amounting to three hundred thousand pounds, contracted by his father, were pressing him sorely; and that in

spite of great frugality in his establishment the private purse of the Crown was empty and must be replenished. He condescended to remind them that this was the commencement of his reign; that he was young; and that if he now met with kind and dutiful usage it would endear him to the use of Parliaments, and would forever preserve an entire harmony between him and his people.¹

The plague now broke out in London and raged with such fatal fury that the Parliament adjourned to Oxford. And while sitting there they were apprised of an incident which caused so much consternation that they at once became inexorable to any further demands for appropriations.

When King James had grown weary of the Spanish match and negotiated the alliance with France, he had engaged to furnish Louis XIII., the brother of Henrietta Maria, with eight war-ships to be employed against the Genoese. It was not long before a cry went up from the besieged Huguenots in La Rochelle that it was the real object of the French King to use these ships to batter down their walls. When the fleet reached Dieppe this surmise proved to be true. To the honour of the English sailors, they mutinied at the command to surrender their vessels into the hands of the French for an assault on La Rochelle; and their commander, Captain John Pennington, declared that he would rather be hanged in England for disobedience than fight against his brother Protestants in France. The ships returned to England, where Buckingham, Lord Admiral, artfully told them that peace had been declared between the Huguenots and the French King, and ordered them back. When they reached Dieppe the second time, they found that they had been falsely informed by the Duke; whereupon one vessel escaped to England, and all the officers and all the sailors of the other ships immediately deserted. One gunner alone preferred to obey his King rather than his conscience, and the news of his death in the first attack was received with great delight in England.²

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 174.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 174-176.

Further supplies were refused. The Commons sent many dutiful and affectionate messages to the King, but gave him no money. They likewise presented a petition concerning religion, and the King assented to all of its demands.¹ In the meantime the La Rochelle affair led to a general denunciation of the Duke of Buckingham, whose continued favour at Court was much resented, and when it developed that the House of Commons intended to press his impeachment, the King, on the 12th of August, 1625, dissolved the Parliament.²

Charles now adopted the bad alternative of borrowing money from his subjects, through the issue of Privy Seals. With means raised in this way he equipped a fleet, and sent it to Spain to intercept the rich galleons from America, but it was attacked with the plague and obliged to return home with thinned ranks. The Duke of Buckingham did not accompany this enterprise, but placed Sir Edward Cecil in command, neglecting Sir Robert Mansel, a sailor of much larger capacity. The indignation that stirred the nation upon this incompetent expedition forced the King to call his second Parliament. Before they assembled Charles called for a full execution of the laws against the Catholics, hoping thus to assuage the narrow hatred of the Puritans against those persecuted people. In order to keep out the leading men who had in the last Parliament opposed his wishes, he had appointed four of the popular leaders sheriffs—Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Phillips, and Sir Francis Seymour,—thus incapacitating them to serve in the House of Commons.³ But the rising spirit of the times could not be quieted by such measures. The second Parliament met February 6, 1626. The Commons voted him this time three subsidies and three fifteens,⁴ but held the bill back until the end of the session, a plain intimation that they themselves would now endeavour to regulate and con-

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 181.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 191.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 197.

⁴ A fifteen was an ancient English tax, being one fifteenth of the valuation of the personal property in each town.

trol every part of the Government which was not to their liking. The popular passion demanded a victim, and the Commons selected the Duke of Buckingham for punishment.

"The Duke was indeed," says Lord Clarendon, "a very extraordinary person, and never any man in any age, nor I believe in any country or nation, rose, in so short a time, to so much greatness of honour, fame, and fortune, upon no other advantage or recommendation, than of the beauty and gracefulness of his person." The Duke was a younger son of Sir George Villiers of Brooksby, whose family traced its line to the Conquest. In his youth he was sent into France, where he acquired the accomplishments and education of a gentleman. Returning to England at the age of twenty-one, he went to Court, where his manly beauty instantly attracted the attention of King James, who made him his cup-bearer. Excelling in the arts of a courtier, he won so much upon the Royal favour that the marks of the King's esteem fell thick and fast upon him. He was knighted, was made a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and received the Order of the Garter. He was then elevated successively to the rank of Baron, Viscount, Earl, Marquis, and finally became Duke of Buckingham. He was appointed Lord High Admiral of England, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Captain-General of the Army, Master of the Horse, Constable of Dover and Windsor Castles, and Master of the King's Forests and Chases.¹ All rivals to the Royal favour were displaced in his rapid rise. He became himself the dispenser of patronage, and the members of his own family received a large share of the public bounty. So much success could not fail to excite great jealousy. So much responsibility could not fail to overtax the capacity of one so young. But when Charles came to the throne, Buckingham, who had won his confidence in the Spanish affair, was continued in power, a thing which surprised those who knew that the Duke had once, in a moment of rage, threatened the Prince with personal assault.²

The nation evinced a disposition to lay all the common ills

¹ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 18 ; Rushworth, vol. i., p. 303.

² Clarendon, vol. i., p. 44.

at the door of the Duke's administration. He was known to be responsible for a great many objectionable things in existing treaties with Catholic countries, which drew upon him the rage and hatred of the Puritans. The visible decline of English power upon the high seas was attributed to his incompetent control of the Navy. Dr. Samuel Turner, Sir John Eliot, and others ventured to suggest in Parliament an impeachment against the Duke. The proposition was received by the Commons with profound though cautious approbation. Charles, upon hearing of this, arrogantly commanded them not to touch his servant, and ordered them to finish the bill for the subsidies, as he intended in a few days to dismiss them. And it was intimated very plainly to them that if they did not exhibit a more dutiful regard for the King, he would be likely to dispense with Parliaments and govern exclusively by his prerogative. Unabashed by his rebuke, they brought in an impeachment against Buckingham, and refused to make the appropriations; and the King determined to dissolve them before the attack upon his favourite could be concluded.

In this impeachment Buckingham was accused of having united many offices in his own person; of having obtained two of them by the payment of money; of neglecting to protect English commerce on the seas, insomuch that many merchant ships had been captured by the enemy; of delivering the eight ships to the King of France to attack La Rochelle; of accepting bribes for his patronage; of accepting extensive grants from the Crown; of procuring many titles of honour for his kindred; and lastly, of applying a plaster to the late King without consulting the physicians.

The Duke answered these charges with frankness and skill, admitting most of the allegations to be true, but disclaiming any dishonest or unworthy motive. And in this condition the affair was pushed upon the deliberation of the Lords.

While the matter of the impeachment was taking legal shape, the Earl of Suffolk, who was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, died, and Buckingham, through the influence of the Court, was chosen Chancellor for that great seat of learning.

The Commons resented this, and protested to the King against it. But in order to show his contempt for them, the King wrote a letter to the University in high praise of the Duke, and commended them for his election.¹

Other unpleasant incidents preceded the dissolution of the Parliament, and inflamed the resentment of that body to the King. It was alleged that Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot, in their presentation of the impeachment, had used seditious language against the King's honour; and they were both thrown into prison. The Commons protested to a man that the words had not been used; the two imprisoned members denied them; and the King, expressing his belief in their statements, restored them to liberty.²

A second matter affected the Lords. Buckingham, who had never forgiven the Earl of Bristol for pressing the Spanish match after Charles and himself decided to relinquish it, had influenced the King to dismiss Bristol from Court. Not satisfied with this victory, he had, at the calling of this Parliament, prevailed upon Charles to withhold a writ from Bristol. The Earl appealed to the Lords for the privilege of his peerage. The Lords petitioned the King in Bristol's behalf, whereupon the Monarch sent him his writ with a letter commanding him not to obey its summons to Parliament. Bristol in his reply made the ingenious point that the writ, under the Great Seal, commanded him, on his faith and allegiance, to attend the Parliament; while in the letter under the Privy Seal, the King had expressed his pleasure that he would personally continue in retirement.³ In the end Bristol was permitted to come to Parliament, where he joined in the impeachment of Buckingham, and was in turn accused of high treason by the Duke.⁴

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., pp. 303 to 371, where the impeachment and speeches against the Duke, together with the King's intercession in his behalf, are fully related.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 356. Sir John Eliot had intimated that Charles had been instrumental in applying the plaster to the late King. Charles never forgave this calumny, and his harsh treatment of Eliot afterwards was due to this incident.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 238.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 256-396.

In a further instance of what he considered a just exercise of the powers of the Crown, Charles aroused the apprehension of the Lords, who were thus far loyal to him and opposed to the encroachments of the Commons. The King had privately taken offence at the Earl of Arundel, on account of a marriage negotiated by the Earl for his son with a sister of the Duke of Lenox¹; and had committed him to the tower during the sitting of Parliament without assigning a cause. The Lords respectfully remonstrated against this as a violation of privilege. Many messages between the King and the Lords ensued. At length the Lords refused to sit until the Earl was restored to them, or a cause assigned for his arrest, and the King was forced to yield him up.

The Commons, still refusing supplies, were persistently urging their grievances at the foot of the Throne. They used every endeavour to gain the King's assistance in the Puritan legislation that had been framed to stamp out the Catholic faith in England. A cry against Popery was eternally on their tongues. Charles, hungrily waiting for an appropriation, was quick in his promises but ever slow in his performance. The House, forced by the temerity of its own conduct to expect a wrathful dissolution, conceived a measure which would forever cripple the King's attempt to conduct the Government despotically in the absence of a Parliament. They began to prepare a remonstrance against the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of Parliament. The income from this source constituted an important part of the revenues of the Crown. The King, apprised of their proceeding, and perceiving that there was an intention to hold back all legislation until they had accomplished a revolution in the ancient methods of the Government, dissolved them on the 15th of June, 1626.²

As this action was expected the Commons had made haste to complete their remonstrance, which, at the dissolution, was published to the country. The King, anxious to stand well in the

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 363. Under the feudal system the King had the disposal of the marriages of his nobility.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 400.

eyes of his subjects, likewise published a declaration, in which he gave his reasons for dissolving their sitting before they had finished a single act.¹

A careful study of the conflict during the session of this Parliament, in which the King indomitably strove for the preservation of his prerogative, and the Commons as stubbornly contended for popular rights, discloses weakness on both sides. The King had no settled purpose but to oppose their aggressions. He was surrounded by unwise counsellors who could neither advise him to yield with grace a part of their demands, nor propose a counter course of action so expedient as to compel their approval. The Commons had no settled policy for their guidance but to oppose the King in every measure which they knew him to value. They frivolously passed from a remonstrance upon one grievance to a remonstrance upon another grievance without pressing any point to final victory. But their steadfast opposition was an evidence to the nation, whose representatives they were, that they were fixed in their purpose to alter and improve the Constitution while preserving its ancient form. And these conflicting views of duty, honestly entertained by the King and the Commons, were well represented by the party cries, "Prerogative" and "Privilege."

The theory of the character of the English Sovereign in that age presented him as a mysterious being, perfect and immortal. As King he was not subject to death, being a corporate part of the Constitution, and speaking in the plural pronouns, *Our* and *We*. Though in infancy, he was always mature; and not human in his office, he could do no wrong. Ubiquitous, he could act simultaneously in all parts of his dominion; and such was the value of a King's word, that whatever he declared to have passed in his presence became legal truth. His prerogative was so complete that laws were made or failed by his single voice; and peace or war rested solely upon his will. Cherishing this strictly legal but theoretical construction of his power, Charles now determined to sway the sceptre absolutely.

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., pp. 400-412.

His first act was to close a peace with Spain. Commissioners were then appointed to gather the customs duties, which, it was held by the Commons, could not lawfully be levied except by Act of Parliament. Large sums of money were collected from the Catholics upon the practical nullification of the laws against them. He called upon the nobles for large loans. He demanded one hundred thousand pounds from the City of London. He required the seaport towns to furnish him with ships. A general tax was levied, equal to the four subsidies and three fifteens which the late Parliament had intended to grant to the King. The Lord Lieutenants of the several counties were directed to muster men for military service, with commissions to execute martial law upon public enemies or rebels. Preparations were made to equip a fleet for foreign service.¹

In the month of September, 1626, Charles received advice that the King of Denmark had been defeated by the Emperor of Germany. Thereupon, a further general tax was assessed upon all Englishmen for the war in the Palatinate. The soldiers who returned from Spain were billeted upon the people; and outrage and disorder followed them wherever they appeared. The Bishop of Lincoln, having expressed sympathy with the Puritans who were opposing the tax, was prosecuted in the Court of Star Chamber. Dr. Sibthorpe and Dr. Mainwaring, at the instigation of the court, preached sermons calling upon the people to pay the money as a religious obligation to their rulers.² Sir John Eliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and John Hampden were among those who were thrown into prison for refusing to pay.

While the young Monarch was, by these rash measures, bringing troublous times upon his people, the spectre of discontent appeared upon his own hearthstone. The Catholic marriage was not in its first years a happy one. The nuptial contract provided that the Queen should have a certain number of priests for her household chaplains, together with a

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., pp. 413-418.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 418, 420, 423.

bishop, who should exercise all ecclesiastical jurisdiction in matters of religion. The arrogant bearing of these priests soon offended the high-minded Monarch. They began to announce that the Pope, upon the marriage treaty, assumed to himself, or his delegates, the direction and control of the Queen's whole family; and that the King of England, being a heretic, had no power to intermeddle therein.¹ Beneath the influence of this false teaching the Queen became somewhat restless under the King's authority, and an unhappy estrangement ensued between the Royal pair. Buckingham did what he could to enlarge this infelicity lest the Queen's influence might prevail against his own.²

As a matter of fact, the contract of marriage between Charles and his vivacious Queen contained certain concessions which the youthful Monarch, under the glamour of ardent and irresponsible love, had yielded without alarm. But with a larger experience in life, Charles as a reflecting husband and hopeful father, now observed with dismay that these obligations pinched his conscience and irritated his mind. One article of the treaty provided that "the children of this future marriage shall be brought up by their mother till the age of thirteen years."³ With the Catholics this was doubtless a stipulation for the religion of the children. "James the First," says a Dutch historian of the times, "here betrayed the cause of his religion, and thus drew on his posterity all their calamities." That this obligation became hateful to Charles is shown by an authentic story which represents the King as coming into the Queen's chamber during the early infancy of their first child, and beholding a Catholic priest about to baptise it, whereupon Charles stopped him and called in an Episcopal minister, who performed the rite.⁴ Among the last letters still extant which Charles wrote to the Prince of Wales

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 423.

² Clarendon, vol. i., p. 39.

³ Hume says: "It can scarce be questioned that this article, which has so odd an appearance, was inserted only to amuse the Pope, and was never intended by either party to be executed."

⁴ Disraeli, *Life of Charles I.*, London, 1838, 5 vols., vol. iii., p. 148.

is one in which he charges him most solemnly to obey his mother in all things saving religion.¹

The King has left an interesting account of a scene that transpired in the Royal bed-chamber. He says :

"One night when I was abed, she put a paper in my hand, telling me it was a list of those she desired to be of her retinue. I took it and said I would read it next morning ; but withal told her that, by agreement in France, I had the naming of them. She said there were both English and French in the note. I replied that those English I thought fit to serve her I would confirm ; but for the French, it was impossible for them to serve her in that nature. Then she said all those in the paper had breviates *from her mother* and herself, and that she would admit no other. Then I said that it was neither in her mother's power nor hers to admit any without my leave, and if she stood upon that, whomsoever she recommended should not come in. Then she bade me plainly take my lands to myself, for if she had no power to put in whom she would in those places, she would neither have lands nor houses of me, but bade me give her what I thought fit in pension. I bade her then remember to whom she spoke, and told her that she ought not to use me so. Then she fell into a passionate discourse, how she is miserable, in having no power to place servants ; and that business succeeded the worse for her recommendation ; which when I offered to answer, she would not so much as hear me. Then she went on saying she was not of that base quality to be used so ill. Then I made her both hear me and end that discourse."²

The individual whose presence among his wife's attendants most annoyed the King, was Father Sancy, the Queen's confessor. Charles had already once expelled this meddling priest from the kingdom, but the French King sent him back to England, to the great indignation of Charles, who had discovered that he had enticed from the Queen disclosures of the most sacred passages in their married life.³

What pained the King above all things, however, was the refusal of Henrietta Maria to be crowned with him in Westminster Abbey, her priestly advisers having forbidden her participation in the religious ceremonies of the Established Church. On that august occasion Charles walked alone, clad in a dress of white velvet, emblematic of the purity of his bridal union with the State. As the Royal procession neared the church, the Queen viewed it from an adjacent window, and exchanged

¹ Disraeli, vol. i., p. 139.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 215.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 226.

frivolous comments with her ladies on the imposing celebration. No entreaties could break through the narrow bigotry of her mind, and no ceremony of coronation was ever performed in her behalf. She was Queen of England only by virtue of her marriage, and not by her installation into that office. In later years Cromwell refused to pay her dower upon the demand of the French King, because of this imperfect title.¹

Charles was especially inflamed against his wife's religious advisers, because he believed that they had made her walk in penance to Tyburn and fix her gaze on the gallows. The Queen denied that she had gone thither by counsel of her priests, and explained that in leaving her chapel after the vesper service she had turned her footsteps through the park in the direction of Tyburn entirely without design.

Another source of the King's displeasure was in her refusal during her early residence in England to learn the language and observe the customs of the country. But while the Queen's Catholic zeal and the occasional explosion of her temper led to those infelicities which often surround an ill-assorted marriage, she was nevertheless an affectionate and devoted wife, fond of her husband, and the object always of his adoring passion.

It has been charged that Charles was swayed too much by his Queen's influence in those measures which made his reign unpopular, and the charge seems to be well sustained by historical evidence. At the time of her departure for Holland to sell the Crown jewels for the prosecution of the war, Charles had made her a solemn promise that he would receive no person into favour or trust without her knowledge and consent; and that, as she had undergone many reproaches and calumnies at the commencement of the war, he would never make any peace but by her mediation, that the kingdom might receive that blessing only from her.² Undoubtedly a knowledge of this ascendancy of the Queen in her husband's affairs had great weight with the Commons in their persistent obstinacy during the war.

¹ Carte's *Life of Ormond*; Strickland's *Lives of the Queens*, vol. iv., p. 298.

² *Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1760, vol. i., p. 79.

But Charles, smarting under the interference of the Queen's priests and some of her ladies, whom he justly charged with alienating his wife's confidence and esteem, dismissed the entire French retinue and sent them home to France. This, as a violation of the marriage contract, was followed by a declaration of war, and a Navy was despatched to France under the command of Buckingham.¹ This force made for La Rochelle, but the wary Huguenots, filled with distrust of the English under a remembrance of the ships that were shortly before employed against them, refused to admit them inside their fortifications. The Duke then landed upon the Isle of Rhée, whence, after some insignificant and inglorious adventures, he was forced to depart without honour and with the loss of a considerable portion of his men.²

The clamour of the nation over this mortifying disaster became so loud that there was no alternative, even for Charles Stuart, but to call a Parliament. Accordingly, on the 17th of March, 1628, his third Parliament assembled, in no pacific frame of mind.

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 424.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 465.





CHAPTER III.

CROMWELL SEES THE PARLIAMENT IN TEARS.

Enters Parliament—Early Hatred of Popery—Tradition of his Intention to Go to America—State of Public Opinion—Zenith of the Monarchal System—Three Youths Ruling Europe—A Royalist Sneer at Cromwell's First Appearance—The King's High Speech—Commons Discuss Grievances—Puritan Principles Outlined by Seymour—Wentworth in Opposition—Rudyard Favours Compromise—Coke's Tribute to Charles's Private Character—Philips on Popular Rights—The Petition of Right—The King Aims to Nullify it by Indirection—His Peremptory Demand for Supply—Impeachment of Mainwaring—Commons Prepare to Attack Buckingham—The King Interposes—Sorrow in the House—The Lords Seek a Better Understanding—Charles Grants the Petition of Right—He Upholds Buckingham—Arbitrary Taxes Denounced—Parliament Prorogued.

OLIVER CROMWELL, while cultivating his land at Huntingdon and studying the law of God's eternal mercies and judgments from the new translation of the Bible, was called to the third Parliament of Charles I. in 1628, as member for the town of Huntingdon.¹ The austerity of Puritanism had burnt itself into his soul. For Popery he entertained the intolerant hatred of his party, and he looked with but little more patience upon the dignified and stately ceremonial of the Established Church. The persecutions of the Puritans in the Star Chamber had driven many of these straight-laced believers to more hospitable homes in the New World; and the tradition that both Oliver Cromwell and his cousin, John Hampden, had intended, if liberty perished, to try their fortunes in America, is probably founded on fact.

¹ Noble says Cromwell sat in the Parliament of 1625; but that, clearly, was another Cromwell.

The Parliament found public affairs in a bad state, and all because the House of Stuart would never profit by experience, nor attempt to forecast for the signs of the times. They believed, with Shakespeare,

“ There ’s such divinity doth hedge a king,
That treason can but peep to what it would.”

The three leading nations of Europe were ruled by three youths, Philip of Spain, Louis of France, and Charles of England, who in turn were almost wholly swayed by their intriguing ministers, Olivarez, Richelieu, and Buckingham. It was the zenith of the monarchical system, and the time was ripe for the assertion of popular rights.

When Oliver Cromwell, at the age of twenty-nine, entered the House of Commons, clad in home-spun clothes, and walking with a shambling, slouching gait, with neither grace of manner nor dignity of carriage, he attracted but little attention. “ Who,” cried a Royalist clergyman in a sermon preached after the Restoration, “ Who that beheld such a bankrupt, beggarly fellow as Cromwell first entering the Parliament House, with a threadbare, torn coat, and a greasy hat (and perhaps neither of them paid for), could have suspected that, in the course of so few years, he should, by the murder of one King and the banishment of another, ascend the throne, be invested in the Royal robes, and want nothing of the state of a King but the changing of his hat into a crown ? ” “ Odds fish, Lory ! ” exclaimed Charles II., when he heard this speech from the man who had been glad to eulogise Cromwell when living, “ Odds fish, man ! Your chaplain must be a bishop. Put me in mind of him at the next vacancy.”¹

The Lords in their robes and the Commons being assembled, the King made them a speech from the Throne, calling their attention to the necessities for supply. “ Every man must do according to his conscience,” said he, “ wherefore if you (as God forbid !) should not do your duties in contributing what the State at this time needs, I must in discharge of my conscience use

¹ Dr. South’s sermon ; Forster’s *Statesmen of the Commonwealth*, p. 406.

those other means which God hath put into my hands, to save that which the follies of particular men may otherwise hazard to lose. Take not this as a threatening," he continued, with rising spirit, "for I scorn to threaten any but my equals."¹

After this high speech the King departed, and the Commons at once began a discussion of grievances and the state of the kingdom, taking into consideration the late arbitrary acts of the Privy Council, as the billeting of soldiers, forced loans, and the imprisonment of certain patriots who had refused to pay the tax.² It was shown that their ancestors had been so careful to secure the liberties of Englishmen, that six several statutes, as well as a provision in Magna Charta, already prohibited such infractions as the late imprisonments.³ Sir Francis Seymour opened the debate with great ability. He said :

"This is the great council of the kingdom, and here with certainty, if not here only, His Majesty may see, as in a true glass, the state of the kingdom. We are called hither by his writs, in order to give him faithful counsel, such as may stand with his honour ; and this we must do without flattery. We are also sent hither by the people, in order to deliver their just grievances : and this we must do without fear. Let us not act like Cambyzes's judges, who, when their approbation was demanded by the Prince to some illegal measure, said that ' though there was a written law, the Persian Kings might follow their own will and pleasure.' This was base flattery, fitter for our reproof than our imitation ; and as fear, so flattery, taketh away the judgment. For my part, I shall shun both ; and speak my mind with as much duty as any man to His Majesty, without neglecting the public. But how can we express our affections while we retain our fears ; or speak of giving till we know whether we have anything to give ? For if His Majesty may be persuaded to take what he will, what need we give ? That this hath been done, appeareth by the billeting of soldiers, a thing nowise advantageous to the King's service, and a burden to the Commonwealth ; by the imprisonment of gentlemen for refusing the loan, who, if they had done the contrary for fear, had been as blamable as the projectors of that oppressive measure. To countenance these proceedings, hath it not been preached from the pulpit, or rather prated, that ' all we have is the King's by Divine right ' ? But when preachers forsake their own calling, and turn ignorant statesmen, we see how willing they are to exchange a good conscience for a bishopric. He, I must confess, is no good subject, who would not willingly and cheerfully lay down his life, when that sacrifice may promote the interests of his Sovereign, and the good of the Commonwealth. But he is not a good

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 477.

² *Ibid.*, p. 499.

³ Hume's *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 23.

subject, he is a slave, who will allow his goods to be taken from him against his will, and his liberty against the laws of the kingdom."¹

Sir Thomas Wentworth, after reciting some of the recent grievances, fulminated a future impeachment against himself as an "evil counsellor" in these words :

"This hath not been done by the King, under the pleasing shade of whose Crown I hope we shall ever gather the fruits of justice, but by projectors, who have extended the prerogative of the King beyond the just symmetry which maketh a sweet harmony of the whole. They have brought the Crown into greater want than ever, by anticipating the revenues. And can the shepherd be thus smitten and the sheep not scattered? They have introduced a Privy Council ravishing at once the spheres of all ancient government, imprisoning us without either bail or bond. They have taken from us—what? Shall I say, indeed, what have they left us? . . . By one and the same thing have King and people been hurt, and by the same must they be cured. To vindicate, what, new things? No, our ancient, vital liberties."²

Sir Benjamin Rudyard, alarmed at the tone of these speeches, arose and pleaded for a medium course, which, if followed by the Parliament, would possibly have saved all the blood and treasure of the Civil War. With dramatic emphasis, he cried :

"This is the crisis of Parliaments! We shall know by this if Parliament live or die. . . . Men and brethren what shall we do? Is there no balm in Gilead? If the King draw one way, the Parliament another, we must all sink. I respect no particular, I am not so wise to condemn what is determined by the major part. One day tells another, and one Parliament instructs another. I desire this House to avoid all contestations; the hearts of Kings are great; 't is comely that Kings have the better of their subjects. Give the King leave to come off, I believe His Majesty expects but the occasion. 'T is lawful and our duty to advise His Majesty; but the way is to take a right course to attain the right end, which I think may be thus: By trusting the King, and to breed a trust in him, by giving him a large supply according to his wants, [and then] by prostrating our grievances humbly at his feet. From thence they will have the best way to his heart, that is done in duty to His Majesty. And to say all at once: Let us all labour to get the King on our side, and this may be no hard matter, considering the near subsistence between the King and people."³

Sir Edward Coke said he was willing to give supply to His Majesty, yet with some caution. He continued :

"I am not able to fly at all grievances, but only at loans. Let us not flatter ourselves. Who will give subsidies, if the King may impose what he

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 499.

² *Ibid.*, p. 500.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 501.

will ; and if after Parliament the King may enhance what he pleaseth ? I know the King will not do it ; I know he is a religious King, free from personal vices. But he deals with other men's hands, and sees with other men's eyes. Will any give a subsidy that may be taxed after Parliament at pleasure ? The King cannot tax any by way of loans. . . . In Magna Charta it is provided, that ' No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or restrained from his freehold, or liberties, or immunities, nor outlawed, nor exiled, nor in any manner destroyed, nor will we come upon him or send against him, except by legal judgment of his peers or the law of the land. We will sell or deny justice to none, nor put off right or justice '¹ : which charter hath been confirmed by good kings above thirty times."

Sir Robert Phillips said :

" I read of a custom among the old Romans, that once every year they held a solemn festival, in which their slaves had liberty, without exception, to speak what they pleased, in order to ease their afflicted minds ; and, on conclusion of the festival, the slaves severally returned to their former servitudes. This institution may, with some distinction, well set forth our present state and condition. After the revolution of some time, and the grievous sufferance of many violent oppressions, we have now at last, as those slaves, obtained, for a day, some liberty of speech ; but shall not, I trust, be hereafter slaves ; for we are born free. Yet what new illegal burdens our estates and burdens have groaned under, my heart yearns to think of, my tongue falters to utter ! The grievances by which we are oppressed, I draw under two heads : acts of power against law, and the judgments of lawyers against our liberty."²

It will be seen from these speeches that the cry for constitutional government was almost universal. Even the Court party could not defend the late abuses, and the King's ministers were forced to ask for subsidies *with* grievances, a concession that so charmed the Commons that they voted an appropriation of five subsidies.³ The King received word of this generous action with tears of gratitude. So fearful were they, however, of the insincerity of his promises for the permanent redress of their grievances, that it was determined to hold back the grant until they could provide an impregnable law which would forever protect their liberties from the encroachments of the Crown. Forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of

¹ The words were quoted in Latin as follows : Nullus liber homo capiatur vel imprisonetur aut disseisietur de libero tenemento suo, etc., nisi per legale iudicium parium suorum vel per legem terre.—Rushworth, vol. i., p. 502.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 502.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 525. A subsidy was equal to about £56,000.

Parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, the billeting of soldiers, martial law—these made up the story of their grievances; and to abolish such burdens for themselves and their posterity, that statute was framed which has come down to us as a precious heritage with Magna Charta, and which is known as the Petition of Right.

The King learned of the preparation of the Petition of Right with undisguised alarm. The Lord Keeper was despatched to the Parliament House with message after message, all of which, though couched in varying tones of entreaty, self-abasement, or command, equally displayed the agitation of the King's mind. The Court party opposed the measure with skill and vigour. They argued, with truth, that Magna Charta contained in substance all that the Commons sought to incorporate in the Petition of Right. The Commons, admitting this, recalled that it had been necessary to secure a confirmation of Magna Charta from their Kings thirty times; why not secure its confirmation from Charles? The Court party claimed that arbitrary imprisonment was already unlawful under the Great Charter. The others pointed to the six statutes which frequent violations of the Charter had required to be enacted; why not incorporate a seventh statute in the Petition of Right? The insidious influence of the Court prevailed upon the Lords to propose to the Commons that the concluding clause in the Petition be worded as follows: "We present this our humble Petition to Your Majesty, with the care not only of preserving our own liberties, but with due regard to leave entire that sovereign power wherewith Your Majesty is trusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of the people."¹ The subtle force of this apparently humble peroration would have left the whole without effect; and it was an evidence of the intelligence of the House that they instantly rejected it. The Petition passed in the form of a declaratory statute, and was delivered to the King. For two centuries it had been customary for the Sovereign to approve or reject a bill by one word; yet when Charles came in State before the Parliament, he spoke these ambiguous

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 561.

words, which were considered to contain his assent to the Petition:

"The King willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged as of his prerogative."¹

There were great disputations after the King's departure. The Commons would not be content with such equivocation. But while they were discussing the means of securing the King's positive assent, a message from the throne commanded them to finish the appropriations, as they would be dismissed in one week.² Not alarmed at this threat, they calmly neglected the matter of supply, and framed an impeachment against Dr. Roger Mainwaring "for seducing the conscience of the King," by having insisted in a sermon on the duty of paying the forced loan. Having forwarded this impeachment to the Lords, they turned to strike at the Duke of Buckingham.

Instantly came a message from the King, reminding them of their impending adjournment and commanding them not to cast any aspersion or scandal upon his favourite.³

Consternation and woe seemed suddenly to engulf the House. Sir John Eliot attempted to speak, but one of the King's ministers, apprehending that he would mention the Duke's name, commanded him not to proceed. "Hereupon," says John Rushworth, who was present, "there was a sad silence in the House for a while." Thomas Alured, one of the members, has left a pathetic description of the scene that now ensued.⁴ He writes:

"Yesterday was a day of desolation among us in Parliament; and this day we fear will be the day of dissolution. . . . Sir Robert Phillips of Somersetshire spake and mingled his words with weeping. Mr. Pym did the like. Sir

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 590.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 593.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 605.

⁴ Thomas Alured to Mr. Chamberlain of the Court of Wards, Friday, June 6, 1628; see Rushworth, vol. i., p. 609.

Edward Coke, overcome with passion, seeing the desolation likely to ensue, was forced to sit down, when he began to speak, by the abundance of tears. Yea, the Speaker in his speech could not refrain from weeping and shedding of tears. Besides a great many whose grief made them dumb. But others bore up in that storm and encouraged the rest."

By-and-bye they became somewhat more composed. But what a scene for that young and thoughtful Oliver Cromwell to witness! No hope of quarter for the King from him, if ever the memory of that day come back to him on the field of battle! "Did they not in former times," says Alured, "proceed by fining and committing John of Gaunt, the King's own son; had they not in very late times meddled with and sentenced the Lord Chancellor Bacon and others?"

Sir Edward Coke made another effort. He now saw that God had not accepted of their humble and moderate carriages and fair proceedings; and he feared the reason was, they had not dealt sincerely with the King and country, and made a true representation of all their miseries. "Let us palliate no longer," he cried. "I think the Duke of Buckingham is the cause of all our miseries, and till the King be informed thereof, we shall never go out with honour or sit with honour here. That man is the grievance of grievances!"

The Lords attempted to direct the alarm into other channels. They began to talk of the peril of the nation from Continental entanglements. They referred to the growing power of the House of Austria; the ambition of the King of Spain who was seeking to make his monarchy universal; the increasing danger of the Catholic League; and the lack of their own preparation to meet any emergency. But the Commons would not be diverted from their course.

The King perceived that he had gone too far in his absolutism, and came down to the Parliament House, and gave his assent to the Petition of Right in the usual form, speaking the words, "Let it be law as is desired."¹

The tenth article of the Petition of Right, which rehearses the grievances complained of in the preceding articles, is as follows:

¹ Rushworth, i., p. 626.

“ They [the Parliament] do therefore humbly pray Your Most Excellent Majesty, —That no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent, by act of Parliament ; and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined or otherways molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof ; and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained ; and that Your Majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers or mariners, and that people may not be so burdened in time to come ; and that the aforesaid commissions, for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled ; and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth, to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest, by color of them, any of Your Majesty’s subjects be destroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.”

The Commons now persisted in completing the Buckingham impeachment, and they presented it to the King, who, after considering it in the Star Chamber, ordered that all record of any charges against the Duke be expunged.¹

They then began a remonstrance against tonnage and poundage, which brought the King to the Parliament House so hastily that the Lords had not sufficient time to put on their robes. And they were presently prorogued until October (and later until January) with every mark of the Royal displeasure.

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 626.





CHAPTER IV.

THE KING AND THE COMMONS.

The Petition of Right a Just Basis of Agreement—Charles's Refusal to be Bound by it Provokes Strife—His Equivocation with the Judges—Kingcraft—The War with France—Assassination of Buckingham—His Character—Charles Persists in Absolute Rule—His Advisers—Laud—Weston—The Queen—Unpopular Churchmen Promoted—The King Attempts to Relieve La Rochelle—Richelieu Obstructs his Navy—The Huguenots Surrender—Their Pitiable Condition—Reassembling of Parliament—History of Tonnage and Poundage—Charles Eager for Supply—The Commons Urge their Grievances—The Arminians—Laud Suspected of Popery—His Innovations Censured by Rouse ; by Pym ; by Eliot—Cromwell for English Puritanism—His First Speech—Declares Episcopal Forms are Flat Popery—The Commons Attack the King's Ministers—Charles Forbids the Question to be Put—The Speaker Held in his Chair while Arbitrary Rule is Denounced—The King Dissolves Parliament—He Assumes the Government Alone.

THE English nation, in its desire for constitutional government, would perhaps have felt itself completely satisfied by the enactment of the Petition of Right, had not Charles Stuart, in the knowledge of all men, lacked those elements of candour and sincerity which were essential to the enforcement of any law designed to protect the liberties of his people. Before giving his assent to the Petition of Right, he had called the two chief justices, Hyde and Richardson, to Whitehall, and propounded certain questions, directing that the other judges should likewise pass upon them. His first question was: "Whether in no case whatsoever the King may not commit a subject without showing cause?" The flexibility of the most sacred laws, in the hands of pliant judges, is shown by their reply. "We are of opinion," said the judges, the two chief justices concurring, "that by the general rule of law, the

cause of commitment by His Majesty ought to be shown ; *yet some cases may require such secrecy, that the King may commit a subject without showing the cause for a convenient time.*" The King then asked them a second question : " Whether in case a habeas corpus be brought, and a warrant from the King without any general or special cause returned, the judges ought to deliver him before they understand the cause from the King ? " This answer was equally elastic. " Upon a habeas corpus brought for one committed by the King," they said, " if the cause be not specially or generally returned, so as the court may take knowledge thereof, the party ought by the general rule of the law to be delivered. But, if the case be such that the same requireth secrecy and may not presently be disclosed, the court in discretion may forbear to deliver the prisoner for a convenient time, to the end the court may be advertised of the truth thereof." A third question from the Monarch was advanced : " Whether, if the King grant the Commons Petition, he doth not thereby exclude himself from committing or restraining a subject for any time or cause whatsoever without showing a cause ? " And the judges replied : " Every law, after it is made, hath its exposition, and so this petition and answer must have an exposition as the case in the nature thereof shall require to stand with justice ; which is to be left to the courts of justice to determine, which cannot particularly be discovered until such case shall happen. And although the Petition be granted, there is no fear of conclusion as is intimated in the question."¹

The truth must be confessed that Charles had an utter contempt for the very notion of popular rights. He had imbibed his ideas of the responsibility of a King from his father, whose view of the question is shown in a letter which he wrote late in life to the House of Commons, commanding " that none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with anything concerning our Government."² It was this narrow conception of the

¹ Hallam's *Constitutional History of England* (Armstrong, New York, 1885), 2 vols., vol. i., pp. 382, 383.

² Rushworth, vol. i., p. 43.

monarchal system which led Charles to violate every statute that was aimed at the powers of the Crown; and his oft-repeated promises, "on the word of a King," were found by his unhappy subjects to be without any binding force upon his conscience.

Free for a time from the interventions of his Parliament, Charles now participated in those operations of war which had engaged nearly the whole of Europe. The Earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law of the Duke of Buckingham, had been despatched to the relief of the Huguenots besieged in the town of La Rochelle. The Huguenots bore so much resemblance to the Puritans, whom the King despised, that it is not likely his concern for their welfare had more than a political depth. An army and a fleet had gathered at Portsmouth, and thither Buckingham proceeded, to give his personal attention to their departure. The King and his Court followed Buckingham, and were hourly expected to arrive, when an event occurred which threw the nation into the wildest excitement. This was the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham.

John Felton, a lieutenant of a company whose captain had met his death in the inglorious retreat from the Isle of Rhé, had taken umbrage at Buckingham because the command of the company had not fallen to him; and had resigned from the army. He was descended from a good family, but was of a taciturn and brooding disposition. While in London he learned something of those debates in the House of Commons in connection with the impeachment of the Duke, in which Buckingham was declared to be a public enemy, responsible for all the evils which the kingdom suffered. Walking through the streets of the great city, a murderous-looking knife in a cutler's window riveted his attention, and, instantly seized by the design of ridding the nation of its tyrant, he purchased the weapon. The morning of the 23d of August, 1628, found him at Portsmouth prepared to finish his sanguinary undertaking.

The Duke had just received letters informing him that the French, under command of Cardinal Richelieu, had been

forced by the Protestant forces in La Rochelle to retire; and he directed his breakfast to be served forthwith in order that he might carry the tidings to the King at the house of Sir Daniel Morton, at Southwick, only five miles away. After discussing the situation of La Rochelle with some French gentlemen who were in his chamber, Buckingham started to go to his breakfast, which had been laid for him in another room. As he lifted the curtain of a dark passage-way connecting the two apartments, the Duke turned to give an order to one of his officers, Colonel Fryar, who then stood close beside him, when a hand out of the dark passage-way reached over Fryar's shoulder, and plunged a knife into the Duke's heart. "The villain hath killed me!" he exclaimed; and drawing the dagger from his bosom, he fell to the floor and expired.

So expertly was the deed accomplished that no one had seen the blow nor the assassin. The greatest consternation ensued, and there was a disposition shown to charge the murder upon the Frenchmen, whose loud voices had been indistinctly heard outside in the discussion of the letters from La Rochelle. A close search in the passage-way discovered a hat which had evidently been dropped by the culprit in his flight. In the crown of this hat was a paper containing some words from the impeachment proceedings, styling the Duke an enemy to the kingdom, with a brief prayer following them. Several men were taken into custody under suspicion, but in the midst of the excitement, when all were asking "Where is the murderer?" Felton came up in perfect composure, and said, "I am he." Some hot-headed adherents of the Duke drew their swords and advanced to kill him, but he eyed their approach calmly and without fear. This stolid demeanor secured his protection from those of quieter nerve, who beat down the weapons of his assailants and remanded him to the charge of the guard.

Felton was now dragged into a private room, where, in order to ascertain whether he had confederates, his captors dissembled inasmuch as to tell him that the Duke was not dead but only severely wounded. He answered with a disdainful smile that the Duke, he knew full well, had received a blow which had

terminated all their hopes. When asked at whose instigation he had performed the atrocious murder, he replied, still smiling, that they should not trouble themselves on that point, as no man living had credit or power enough with him to have impelled him to such a deed ; that he had never intrusted his purpose or resolution to any man ; that it proceeded only from the impulse of his own conscience ; and that the motives of his conduct would appear if his hat were found, in which he had deposited them, because he had expected to perish in his attempt and desired to leave his reasons on record.

Felton's bearing in this arduous examination was that of a man who had done Heaven a good service. But after he had been in prison some time his conscience convinced him of the enormity of his crime ; and he acknowledged that what he had understood to be a whispering of Divine purpose he now perceived was an instigation of Satan. He humbly solicited the forgiveness of the King and of the Duke's widow and friends, and he implored the judges who pronounced capital punishment upon him that his right hand might be struck off before he would be put to death.

The King was at public prayers in the church at Southwick, when Sir John Hipposly spurred up to the door and entered. Without waiting for a pause in the services, the eager messenger informed the King what had happened. Charles received the news with an undisturbed countenance. So great was the control which he exercised over his feelings that his courtiers, who scrutinised his face, concluded he was secretly glad to be rid of a minister who had become an object of public odium. But under this outward composure the monarch concealed an agony to which he gave full expression shortly afterwards in the privacy of his own chamber. The attacks that had been made on Buckingham through all sources of public expression had only increased the King's love for him. He retained an affectionate interest in Buckingham's friends and cherished to the last a prejudice for his enemies. His kindness to the Duke's wife and children was unremitting ; and the large debts standing against Buckingham were discharged by the King's bounty.

When Felton's trial came on, the King was desirous of putting him to the torture as a full measure of revenge for the murder of his favourite ; but his advisers dissuaded him from this on the ground that it would be obnoxious to public sentiment.¹ Felton was before the King's privy council when Bishop Laud proposed to put him on the rack and make him name his confederates. Felton ingeniously retorted that if that were done he might in his extremity name his Lordship as quickly as any other ; whereupon the Bishop pressed the point no further.²

Before passing from the Duke of Buckingham, it may not be without interest to briefly describe the character of that most picturesque man. He was gifted with a generous disposition, and possessed a noble nature according to the standard of his times. His affability and courtesy towards all men, his apparent willingness to oblige all suitors, and his unquestioned personal courage, extorted the admiration of his countrymen. But the happy affluence of his own career caused him to offer such rash counsels to the King, that admiration was soon succeeded by contempt, and contempt by open indignation and revolt. He was most vehement in his attachments and would go all lengths to oblige a friend. In dealing with his enemies he never affected dissimulation, but would acquaint them frankly with the causes of his resentment and warn them of his purpose of revenge. His manners were charming and his deportment was unequalled, not only in the fastidious Court of Charles, but even in Paris, where perfect manners were the aim of life. In his embassy to France to bring home the Queen, where he appeared in all the brilliance with which the wealth of England could adorn him, he far surpassed the gay courtiers of Louis in those vanities in which they esteemed themselves unrivalled. Trained in the favour of two Royal masters, it is not strange that his conceit was without bounds. While in Paris he even dared to entertain a passion for the French Queen, and, mistaking her graciousness for encouragement, he returned secretly after having taken public leave, and attempted to pay his addresses to her, but was dismissed with a gentleness which proved that

¹ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 23.

² Rushworth, vol. i., p. 638.

even Majesty was not insensible to his charms. His ambition was great, yet his honours followed on each other's heels so swiftly that he could yearn for nothing. It was the misfortune of his career that there was no one among all his friends to warn him frankly of those impetuous passions which provoked the indignation of the people. He considered every act which met their disfavour as a mere incident to be forgotten in the achievement of some new glory; and he never attempted to atone for such slights upon their judgment by mending his conduct or altering his policy. His private life was not free from the gallantries of the age, although he seems to have been an affectionate husband. Had he been permitted to attain maturity of years before undertaking those great responsibilities of power, his name would doubtless have been an illustrious one on the page of history. But his performances were the experiments of youth, and his life ended in an inglorious tragedy, without drawing tears from his countrymen. He was thirty-six years old when he died.¹

The King, now free from the counsels of his dangerous favourite, might gracefully have adopted the occasion as propitious for retracing those steps which he had made towards the assumption of absolute power. The progress of English civilisation required it. The consensus of English opinion demanded it. But Charles went unflinching forward.

William Laud, now Bishop of London, succeeded Buckingham as the King's most influential adviser. Sir Richard Weston, a much abler man, who had recently been made Lord Treasurer, and who was fitted for a prudent councillor, found his importance second to that of Laud. The Bishop of London was the head and front of the High Church party, ready to surpass the Catholics in ceremony, and for that reason an object of the bitter hatred of the Puritans. Laud was a virtuous man who abstained from pleasures and applied all his vast interest with the Court to exalt the power of the clergy. He was unsuited to a high station by his lack of patience and discretion. He imagined that all his enemies were necessarily the enemies of

¹ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 60.

the State, and he persecuted them accordingly. Many temptations were sent to him from Rome to bring him over to the Catholic Church. He received a secret assurance from the Pope that he could have a cardinal's hat; but while of a narrow and bigoted mind, he was personally honest and he refused the offer. It was his desire to secure to the Episcopal Church in England that absolute sway over the souls of the people which the Catholic Church enjoyed in Italy and Spain. In the pursuit of this aim he persuaded the King to adopt a policy called "Thorough," which was responsible for a large part of the oppressions that ended in Civil War. His selection, therefore, as the successor of Buckingham was not calculated to appease the restless suspicions of the Parliament, soon to reassemble.

Dr. Mainwaring, who had preached that sermon on passive obedience which had evoked a sentence from Parliament prohibiting him forever from preferment in the Church, was pardoned by the King and presented with two rich livings.¹ Dr. Montague, whose Appeal to Cæsar had likewise stirred the wrath of Parliament, was made Bishop of Chichester.²

The fleet which Buckingham had fitted out for the relief of La Rochelle was despatched thither in command of the Earl of Lindesey. Expecting this succour to his foes, Richelieu, a man whose vast genius was equal to every emergency in war as in peace, had devised an engineer's boom which obstructed the boisterous ocean for a mile on the sea-front of La Rochelle. When the English fleet arrived they found it impossible to convey their supplies over this barricade, seeing which the unhappy Huguenots surrendered. The indomitable inhabitants of the town, buoyed up by the expectation of assistance from England, had subsisted for many weeks upon horse-flesh, hides and leather, and dogs and cats. Their situation at the surrender, in full view of armed assistance, was most deplorable. Out of fifteen thousand who had held the city at the commencement of the siege, but four thousand were alive when the gates were opened to the invaders.³ Their surrender with a

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 635.

² *Ibid.*, p. 634.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 636.

succouring Navy in sight presented to the world another example of the incapacity of the English military system under a Government that was not supported by popular opinion.

The Parliament, which was to have reassembled on the 20th of October, 1628, met by proclamation on the 20th of January, 1629.¹ They began at once to discuss their grievances, and learned to their great disgust that the copies of the Petition of Right which had been distributed to the nation had by Royal order the King's first answer appended, in which he had equivocally confirmed the petition, instead of the usual form in which his second answer had been framed.² They found that tonnage and poundage had been levied in express violation of the Petition of Right, and that merchants had had their goods seized for refusing to pay the duties. Among these merchants were Mr. Chambers, Mr. Vassal, and Mr. Rolls, of London, whose consignments of goods were seized by the customs officers for their failure to pay the imposts. The merchants had pleaded the statute of Magna Charta for exemption from taxes assessed without consent of Parliament, and had sued out writs of replevin for their goods. The King's judges had ordered the sheriffs not to recognise the writs; and thus had the commercial privileges of the nation been invaded.³ As it was this question of tonnage and poundage, or, in modern parlance, customs duties, which so often caused a breach between Charles and his Parliaments, it seems fitting to give a brief account of the controversy. The levying of customs duties in former times had been generally done as a temporary grant of Parliament. But when, on the accession of Henry V., the martial spirit of the nation was fired by the conquests of that youthful Sovereign, the right of tonnage and poundage was conferred upon him, and afterwards upon all succeeding Princes, during life. The necessity of these taxes for the support of the Navy was so apparent that each King had claimed it immediately on his accession, and the Parliament had usually granted the claim. In the time of Henry VIII. no grant of tonnage and poundage was made by Parliament until the sixth year of his

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 643.

² *Ibid.*, p. 643.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 641.

reign. Yet Henry, who had not then reached the height of his power, continued to levy the tax all through that time; and when Parliament did make the grant they censured the merchants who had neglected to pay the Crown officers. Four succeeding Sovereigns had continued the old custom, which was undoubtedly a violation of the spirit of the constitution, but which Parliament had never undertaken to check until now. In the short interval which passed between the accession of Charles and the meeting of his first Parliament, he had followed the example of his predecessors; and when Parliament assembled they made no complaint. But what happened to be the first intimation on the part of that House of Commons that they had thus early formed a plan for making the young Monarch the creature of Parliaments and not the master of them, was that, instead of granting tonnage and poundage during the King's lifetime, as it had been done in the preceding reigns, they voted it only for a year, reserving the power of renewing or refusing it after the year would have elapsed. The House of Lords, who believed that this duty was necessary to the increasing necessities of the Crown, and who always viewed the encroachments of the Commons with jealousy, rejected the bill in this form, and the Parliament had been dissolved without further action on that question. The King continued to levy the tax, at first without any signs of discontent on the part of his subjects. But the discussion of the matter in the succeeding Parliament inflamed every one against it. There was an effort made to have it declared illegal to levy tonnage and poundage without consent of Parliament. But that Parliament was likewise abruptly dissolved ere they had taken decisive action.

In the interval between the second and third Parliaments there had been so many violent applications of the King's prerogative, that the matter of tonnage and poundage had been somewhat obscured by more important affairs. But in the first session of the third Parliament the Commons, not content with the large concessions that had been granted to them in the Petition of Right, had proceeded to take up tonnage and

poundage, showing a fixed intention of exacting, in return for the grant of this revenue, a still further relinquishment of the powers of the Crown. Their hasty prorogation was brought about by their intended remonstrance on that subject.

When the King opened the second session he had foreseen that tonnage and poundage would be the first subject the Commons would consider; and the tone of his speech from the throne was very mild and patient. He assured them "that he had not taken these duties as appertaining to his hereditary prerogative; but that it ever was, and still is, his meaning to enjoy them as a gift of his people; and that if he had levied tonnage and poundage he pretended to justify himself only by the necessity of so doing, not by any right which he assumed."¹ Some of the King's friends then presented a bill granting the right to collect tonnage and poundage as it had been done in former reigns; and the King sent a message directing the Commons to speedily consider the measure. The House, not intending to pass the bill in that form, resented its introduction by one of the King's creatures, and sullenly refused to take any action with it as put before them. That their express plan to grant tonnage and poundage at their own pleasure, and for limited periods, was strictly within the limits of the constitution, is undoubtedly true. By the King's own expressions, which have just been quoted, and by the form of every bill which had granted this tax to the Crown, the levy was shown to be a free gift of Parliament; and, consequently, might be withheld at pleasure. The money was granted to maintain the Navy for the protection of the sea-coast and of commerce. But had not Parliament the right to say to what extent they would maintain the Navy, even for those purposes?

But Charles, notwithstanding his declaration to the Commons, was not prepared to give his assent to these propositions. He was persuaded that a certain class in the House of Commons, which was swayed by visionary ideas of a limited monarchical system, was determined to derogate from the Crown every prerogative that made it an object of sovereign

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 644.

power. His predecessors would not have yielded to such influences; neither would he yield to them. If they pressed him too hard, he secretly determined that he would himself seize every function of Government, and conduct an absolute monarchy.

The Commons persistently refused to vote on the bill for tonnage and poundage, in spite of the King's frequent messages commanding them to do so; but they passed to a discussion of the state of religion, and presented His Majesty a remonstrance on that subject.¹

The English people, not satisfied to deal only with those problems of civil government which seemed to be tearing the nation asunder, were distressed by the agitation of religious disputes. Fatalism and free will were the opposing sentiments which occasioned the controversy. The early reformers, led by John Calvin, had based their teachings upon predestination and absolute decrees. These tenets met with opposition from James Arminius, a prominent divine of Leyden, Holland, whose followers, the Arminians, soon introduced the discussion into England. The King and the High Church party generally entertained the Arminian theories; and some of the Arminians themselves, under the indulgence of James and Charles, had been appointed to the highest preferments in the Church. Bishops Laud, Neile, Montague, and others high in ecclesiastical station, who were the chief supporters of the beautiful ceremonial system of the Episcopal Church, were stigmatised as Arminians. Some members of the House of Commons believed that in attacking Arminianism, which they considered an esoteric and mysterious system, they could lay against that denomination a suspicion of disguised Popery; and their attacks were consequently a matter of great frequency: "To impartial spectators, surely," says the philosophic Hume, "if any such had been at that time in England, it must have given great entertainment to see a popular assembly, inflamed with faction and enthusiasm, pretend to discuss questions to which the greatest philosophers, in the tranquillity of retreat, had never hitherto been able to find any satisfactory solution."

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 651.

In the speeches that remain to us, we can witness the fervour that possessed those men. Francis Rouse spoke thus in warning tones :

"I desire that it may be considered how the see of Rome doth eat into our religion ; and fret into the banks and walls of it, the laws and statutes of this realm, especially since those laws have been made in a measure by themselves, even by their own treasons and bloody designs. And since Popery is a confused heap of errors, casting down Kings before Popes, the precepts of God before the traditions of men, . . . I desire that we may consider the increase of Arminianism, an error that makes the grace of God lackey it after the will of men, that makes the sheep to keep the shepherd, and makes a mortal seed of an immortal God. Yea, I desire that we may look into the very belly and bowels of this Trojan horse to see if there be not men in it ready to open the gates to Romish tyranny, and Spanish monarchy : for an Arminian is the spawn of a Papist."¹

And then John Pym, the leader of liberty, but, like the others, somewhat narrow on religious toleration, arose and spoke about a violation of the law "in bringing in of superstitious ceremonies amongst us, especially at Durham, by Mr. Cozens, as angels, crucifixes, saints, altars, candles on Candlemas Day, burnt in the church after the Popish manner."²

Sir John Eliot denied the infallibility of the Bishops in these words :

"It is said, if there be any difference in opinion concerning the seasonable interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles, the bishops and the clergy in the convocation have power to dispute it, and to order which way they please ; and for aught I know Popery and Arminianism may be introduced by them, and then it must be received by all. A slight thing that the power of religion should be left to the persons of these men ! I honour their profession ; there are among our Bishops such as are fit to be made examples for all ages, who shine in virtue and are firm for our Religion. But the contrary faction I like not. I remember a character I have seen in a diary of Edward VI., that young Prince of famous memory, where he doth express the condition of the bishops of that time under his own handwriting : '*That some for sloth, some for age, some for ignorance, some for luxury, and some for Popery, were unfit for discipline and government.*'"³

And what of Oliver Cromwell ? Where is he all this time ? Still dressed in homespuns, Oliver keeps his seat and listens : has kept his seat all through these two sessions ; has witnessed the endeavours of these honest men to bring the King to con-

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 645.

² *Ibid.*, p. 647.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 648.

stitutional government ; has observed and thought ; has wept and prayed. And now he rises to speak.

It was not much of a speech that young Oliver made. He never was a good speaker, and as yet he had not tried it at all. But he informed the Commons, what countenance the Bishop of Winchester did give to some persons that preached flat Popery, and mentioned the persons by name ; and how by this Bishop's means, Mainwaring (who by censure the last Parliament was disabled from ever holding any ecclesiastical dignity in the Church, and confessed the justice of that censure) is nevertheless preferred to a rich living. "*If these be the steps to Church preferment,*" cried Oliver, "*what may we expect ?*"¹

Though he was employed in the work of important committees of the House, this is the only public performance we have from Oliver in that Parliament ; but it is enough to show the bent of his mind ; enough to show which side he will take if it come to choosing sides. That "flat Popery" was a thing that offended him to the soul then, and aroused him to anger many times in later years, until in the growth of his mind he came at last to look with tolerable patience even upon Popery.

And all this time messages were coming from the King, and were evaded in various ways by the Commons, on the matter of tonnage and poundage. And as every day found the King and the Commons farther apart, there was little hope that any more public business would be done by this Parliament than was done by the two former ones. Finally, when the King, in a rather more peremptory tone than he had yet used, demanded a settlement of the tonnage and poundage, the Commons fell to attacking his ministers. Sir John Eliot named the Lord Treasurer Weston "in whose person all evil is contracted. I find him acting and building on those grounds laid by his master the great Duke."² A question of impeachment was moved, but the Speaker said that the King had commanded him not to put it to the House. The Commons, unable to transact business, adjourned until Wednesday, February 25th.

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 655.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 659.

When they came together on that date, they were again adjourned by the King's order until March 2d. On March 2d they met again and urged the Speaker to put the question; but he informed them that he had an order from His Majesty to adjourn until March 10th, and put no question. He then attempted to leave the chair, when two members, Denzil Holles and William Strode, foreseeing a dissolution, dragged him back, swearing "By God's wounds, he should stay there as long as the House chose!" Sir Thomas Esmond and his friends strove to rescue the Speaker. Other members drew their swords, and amid tears, groans, imprecations, and shouts, Sir Michael Hobart locked the door. In the midst of this scene of violence a protestation was read in the House, which denounced as public enemies (1) anyone who should bring Popery or Arminianism into the Church; (2) anyone who should counsel or advise the levying of tonnage or poundage without consent of Parliament; and (3) anyone who should pay the same if levied.¹

On March 10, 1629, the King dissolved the Parliament, and eleven years elapsed before another sat in England.²

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 660.

² The speech of Charles on this dissolution is worthy of attention:

"My Lords," he said, when both Houses had gathered before him, "I never came here upon so unpleasant an occasion, it being the dissolution of a Parliament; therefore men may have some cause to wonder, why I should not rather choose to do this by commission, it being a general maxim of Kings to leave harsh commands to their ministers, themselves only executing pleasant things. Yet considering that justice as well consists in reward and praise of virtue, as punishing of vice, I thought it necessary to come here to-day, and to declare to you and all the world, that it was only the undutiful and seditious carriage in the lower House, that hath made the dissolution in this Parliament; and you, my Lords, are so far from being any causers of it, that I take as much comfort in your dutiful demeanor, as I am justly distasted with their proceedings; yet to avoid their mistakings, let me tell you, that it is so far from me to adjudge all the House alike guilty, that I know that there are many there as dutiful subjects as any in the world, it being but some few vipers among them that did cast their mist of undutifulness over most of their eyes. Yet to say truth, there was a good number there, that could not be infected with this contagion, insomuch, that some did express their duties in speaking, which was the general fault of the House the last day. To conclude, as those vipers must look for their reward of punishment, so you, my Lords, must justly expect from me that favour and protection, that a good King oweth to his loving and faithful nobility."



CHAPTER V.

THE LORD OF THE FENS.

Cromwell Returns to Huntingdon—Appointed Justice of the Peace—Early Letter from him—Baptism of his Son Richard—Removes to St. Ives—His Pastoral Life—Prayer and Worship in his Family—Letter to Mr. Storie—Begs him to Sustain the Work of the Gospel—His Inheritance at Ely—His Removal Thither—Letter to Mrs. St. John—He Describes his Religious Doubts—Laments his Former Unworthiness—His Enthusiastic Faith—Letter to Mr. Hand—Provides Medical Aid for a Destitute Man—Is Called Lord of the Fens—Death of his Son Robert.

AFTER the violent dissolution of the third Parliament, Oliver Cromwell returned to Huntingdon in much perturbation of mind. The mad pace at which the nation seemed going to destruction filled him with vague alarms. He had not won a large share of public attention. His sole part in the debates had consisted in that denunciation of "flat Popery" which Dr. Alabaster had preached at Paul's Cross. His fame was of slow growth, and the fact that he was not proscribed with the five members twelve years later shows that he had not even then become a leader among the English patriots.

Shortly after his return to Huntingdon he was appointed a Justice of the Peace for that borough, Thomas Beard, D.D., his old schoolmaster, and Robert Barnard, Esquire, likewise securing commissions. In the new charter that was granted to Huntingdon, Cromwell saw that the Aldermen had received power to work injustice to the property owners in the borough, and he spoke his mind in a savage way to Robert Barnard, then Mayor. On complaint at London, Cromwell was summoned before the Council, where he acknowledged that his words

had been spoken in the heat of passion, and the matter was dropped.

While residing at Huntingdon, he wrote this letter,—the first from his pen that has been preserved,—relating to his third son, Richard. The young father's pride of heart is discernible :

"To my approved good friend, Mr. HENRY DOWNHALL, at his Chambers in St. John's College, Cambridge : These.

"HUNTINGDON, 14th October, 1626.

"LOVING SIR :

"Make me so much your servant as to be Godfather unto my child. I would myself have come over to have made a formal invitation, but my occasions would not permit me, and therefore hold me in that excused. The day of your trouble is Thursday next. Let me entreat your company on Wednesday.

"By this time it appears, I am more apt to encroach upon you for new favours than to show my thankfulness for the love I have already found. But I know your patience and your goodness cannot be exhausted by your friend and servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." ¹

But he grew tired of Huntingdon, and prevailed upon his wife and mother to join with him in the sale of certain lands there, out of which his present living was derived. This sale put him in possession of about £1800, and with this money he bought live-stock for a grazing farm which he had rented at St. Ives, five miles down the Ouse River, and moved there with his wife and a rapidly increasing family of children. His mother remained at Huntingdon, where her old associations were doubtless too tenderly cherished to be hastily severed. ²

His life at St. Ives was quiet, thoughtful, and at times moved with doubts, at others full of hope. Striving after godliness was his chiefest care. Prayer was an institution in his household, and the labourers on his farm were called from their work frequently to join the family in its devotions. In the morning they knelt with him in the worship of God until the sun was high in the heavens, and at even they came early from their toil to renew their supplications to the Throne of Grace.

¹ *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, by Thomas Carlyle (Worthington, New York), 3 vols., vol. iii., p. 293.

² Noble, vol. i., p. 103.

Under this strict application of piety the farm did not thrive ; but Oliver's soul grew rich in grace, and it was here that he penned that letter to Mr. Storie, which, as the only remaining epistolary relic of the St. Ives residence, is given here. It exposes a very lively interest in religion :

" To my very loving friend, Mr. STORIE, at the sign of the Dog in the Royal Exchange, London : Deliver these.

" ST. IVES, 11th January, 1636.

" MR. STORIE :

" Amongst the catalogue of those good works which your fellow-citizens and our countrymen have done, this will not be reckoned for the least, that they have provided for the feeding of souls. Building of hospitals provides for men's bodies ; to build material temples is judged a work of piety ; but they that procure spiritual food, they that build-up spiritual temples, they are the men truly charitable, truly pious. Such a work as this was your erecting the Lecture in our country ; in the which you placed Dr. Wells, a man of goodness and industry, and ability to do good every way ; not short of any I know in England ; and I am persuaded that, since his coming, the Lord hath by him wrought much good among us.

" It only remains now that He who first moved you to this, put you forward in the continuance thereof ; it was the Lord ; and therefore to Him lift we up our hearts that He would perfect it. And surely, Mr. Storie, it were a piteous thing to see a Lecture fall, in the hands of so many able and godly men, as I am persuaded the founders of this are ; in these times, wherein we see they are suppressed, with too much haste and violence, by the enemies of God's truth. Far be it that so much guilt should stick to your hands, who live in a city so renowned for the clear shining light of the Gospel. You know, Mr. Storie, to withdraw the pay is to let fall the Lecture : for who goeth to warfare at his own cost ? I beseech you therefore in the bowels of Jesus Christ, put it forward and let the good man have his pay. The souls of God's children will bless you for it ; and so shall I ; and ever rest, your loving friend in the Lord,

" OLIVER CROMWELL.

" P. S.—Commend my hearty love to Mr. Busse, Mr. Beadly, and my other good friends. I would have written to Mr. Busse ; but I was loathe to trouble him with a long letter, and I feared I should not receive an answer from him : from you I expect one so soon as conveniently you may. Vale." ¹

At this time his mother's brother, old Sir Thomas Steward, Knight, lay fatally ill at Ely. This was the uncle on whom the inquest of lunacy had been held. The record notes that he was buried in the Cathedral of Ely, 30th January, 1636, and Oliver received the principal part of his property under the will. This inheritance induced him to remove to Ely, which he did shortly

¹ Carlyle, vol. i., p. 84.

after Sir Thomas's death, and continued to reside there until the time of the Long Parliament; and his family still after that until about the close of the first Civil War. His mother appears to have joined him at Ely, thinking to pass her days in the shadow of the old Cathedral, and never dreaming of her apartments in the Palace of Whitehall, where her spirit was finally to pass away.

It was at Ely that, while cultivating his farms, fondly rearing his children, and still pondering the divine mystery, he wrote a beautiful letter to his cousin, Mrs. St. John—a letter warm with the spirit of God's peace, and in which he tells her of that spiritual regeneration by which his soul had been lifted out of moral darkness into a higher light. The letter reveals completely the religion of a zealous and enthusiastic Puritan:

"To my beloved Cousin, Mrs. ST. JOHN, at Sir William Masham his House called Otes, in Essex: Present these.

"ELY, 13th October, 1638.

"DEAR COUSIN:

"I thankfully acknowledge your love in your kind remembrance of me upon this opportunity. Alas, you do too highly prize my lines, and my company. I may be ashamed to own your expressions considering how unprofitable I am, and the mean improvement of my talent.

"Yet to honour my God by declaring what He hath done for my soul, in this I am confident, and I will be so. Truly, then, this I find: That He giveth springs in a dry barren wilderness where no water is. I live, you know where,—in Meshec, which they say signifies Prolonging; in Kedar, which signifies Blackness; yet the Lord forsaketh me not. Though He do prolong, yet He will I trust bring me to His tabernacle, to His resting-place. My soul is with the congregation of the first-born, my body rests in hope; and if here I may honour my God either by doing or by suffering, I shall be most glad.

"Truly no poor creature hath more cause to put himself forth in the cause of his God than I. I have had plentiful wages beforehand; and I am sure I shall never earn the least mite. The Lord accept me in His Son, and give me to walk in the light, as He is the light! He it is that enlighteneth our blackness, our darkness. I dare not say, He hideth His face from me. He giveth me to see light in His light. One beam in a dark place hath exceeding much refreshment in it:—blessed be His name for shining upon so dark a heart as mine! *You know what my manner of life hath been.* Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated light; I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true: *I hated godliness*, yet God had mercy on me. O the riches of His mercy! Praise Him for me;—pray for me, that He who hath begun a good work would perfect it in the day of Christ.

"Salute all my friends in that Family whereof you are yet a member. I am

much bound unto them for their love. I bless the Lord for them ; and that my Son, by their procurement, is so well. Let him have your prayers, your counsel ; let me have them.

"Salute your Husband and Sister from me :—He is not a man of his word ! He promised to write about Mr. Wrath of Epping ; but as yet I receive no letters :—put him in mind to do what with conveniency may be done for the poor Cousin I did solicit him about.

"Once more farewell. The Lord be with you ; so prayeth your truly loving Cousin,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." ¹

Here is another brief note from Ely. This crude young farmer Oliver has interested himself in a sick and destitute man, one Benson :

"ELY, 13th September, 1638.

"MR. HAND :

"I doubt not but I shall be as good as my word for your money. I desire you to deliver Forty Shillings of the Town Money to this Bearer, to pay for the physic for Benson's cure. If the Gentlemen will not allow it at the time of account, keep this Note, and I will pay it out of my own purse. So I rest, your loving friend,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." ²

These four letters are all that remain of Oliver's writings previous to the Long Parliament. During the eleven years that passed between the third and fourth Parliaments the "draining of the Fens" was commenced. This was a work of vast importance throughout Cambridgeshire, and it embraced the construction of the great Bedford Level, to carry the Ouse River directly to the North Sea, holding it safely in strong embankments for about twenty miles and not leaving it in winding stagnation to inundate the whole country, as formerly.* Oliver's part in this affair has never been clearly disclosed. There seems to have been much dissatisfaction with a part of the plan, however, and Cromwell became spokesman for those who raised the clamour, acquitting himself with so much success and pushing the work forward with so much vigour, that he was

¹ Thurloe's *State Papers*, 7 vols., London, 1742, vol. i., p. 1. Carlyle, vol. i., p. 93.

² *Memoirs of the Protector*, by Oliver Cromwell, a Descendant of the Family. London, 1822, 2 vols., vol. i., p. 351.

³ There was an act of Parliament passed in 1649 placing the work of draining the Fens in charge of the Earl of Bedford in connection with which Cromwell was made the chief commissioner. Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, London, 1762, p. 58.

called "The Lord of the Fens" in the good-humoured approbation of his neighbours.

In these St. Ives days, his first-born, Robert, in whom his soul delighted, was at Felsted school, in Essex, and there he fell ill and died. His age was seventeen years and seven months. What the nature of his sickness was we do not know. It may have been small-pox, for they buried him at Felsted. The old Parish register at Felsted contains a Latin note of his burial, written by the vicar some years after the event, to this effect: "Robert Cromwell, son of the illustrious warrior, Oliver Cromwell, and of Elizabeth, his wife, was buried May 31st, 1639. And Robert was a remarkably pious youth, fearing God above many."¹ Oliver was well-nigh overwhelmed with grief at this bereavement. But the anguish of the Puritan father found its sure solace in that religion which was the food of his life. "I know both how to be abased and how to abound," he cried, repeating the words of Paul. "Everywhere and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me." Twenty years later, while he lay on his death-bed, his thoughts sped back beyond his conquests to this early sorrow, and he repeated the words, assuring his watchers with an emotion that stirred every heart, that, "this Scripture did once save my life, when my eldest son died, which went as a dagger to my heart, indeed it did."

It is surprising how little of his early private life has been preserved: and much of that which remains is misty with tradition. We have seen enough, however, to recognise a man of fine domestic qualities, an honest neighbour, and a good citizen, who would have passed his life in a quiet way among his fellows, seeking God with all the ardour of his soul, had not the trumpet blast of civil war called him to fight against his King and countrymen on a field of action the like of which England had never seen before.

¹ "Robertus Cromwell, filius honorandi viri militis Oliveris Cromwell et Elizabethæ Cromwell uxoris ejus, sepultus fuit 31^o die Maii, 1639. Et Robertus fuit eximie pius juvenis, Deum timens supra multos."



CHAPTER VI.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF RELIGION.

Christianity Follows Paganism—Conflict between the Roman Empire and the Church for the Possession of the Human Race—Church Leaders Establish an Oligarchy—Name Changed from Christian to Catholic—Roman and Byzantine Empires Contrasted—Military Supremacy of Constantinople—Jealousy between Pope and Patriarch—Rise of the Papacy—Introduction of Errors—The Church Assumes Temporal Power—Origin of Catholic Discipline and Forms—Power of the Papacy Accounted for—Its Decline and Fall—The First Protestants—The Vaudois—The Waldenses—An Awakening in England—Wycliff—Luther—The Reformation in Germany—Henry VIII. Defends Rome—Story of his Marriage and Divorce—His Revolt from Rome—The Reformation in England—Suppression of the Monasteries—Cranmer and Edward VI.—Growth of Protestantism—Nonconformity—The Spread of Sects a Blessing to Mankind—Origin of the Puritans—Rules on which All Protestantism is Founded—Mary's Cruelties—Flight of Protestants from England—Elizabeth Restores the Protestant Church—The Presbyterians—The Independents—Arbitrary Characters of the Early Reformers—But for Sectarianism they would have Founded Other Tyrannies in Place of the Papacy—Cromwell's Peaceful Faith.

As the approaching conflict concerns the religious as well as the political rights of Englishmen, it seems proper, before following Cromwell into Parliament, to take a brief view of the progress of the Christian religion from the earliest times.

The history of religion may be described as the search of men and nations after the true God. When the lowly Nazarene began his ministry the world was at the feet of Pagan idols. But his doctrines of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man soon took hold so irresistibly upon the hearts of men, and his teachings sprang into such sudden favour, that the four centuries following his death were marked by an

intense conflict between the Christian Church and the Roman Empire for the possession of the human race, in the end whereof the Empire went down. On the ruined throne of the Cæsars the prelates of the Church, who were now become luxurious through the prestige of success, and seemed forgetful of the humble fisherman whose followers they claimed to be, proceeded to establish an oligarchy which should be more powerful than any Government the world had ever known. Their ambitious design was achieved by confining the political judgments of men under an inflexible ecclesiastical yoke. The Christian Church, so named in the Apostolic days of Antioch, became the Holy Catholic Church, and its dogmas filled the earth. But while the seat of spiritual authority was maintained without grave interruption at Rome, the decline of martial glory there, when contrasted with the military pomp of the Byzantine Empire, furnished occasion to a ductile people to transfer their attentions from the West to the East, from Rome to Constantinople. The Emperor Constantine had submissively accepted the Christian doctrines as preached to him by Sylvester, a Pope who wisely claimed his title from the Emperor rather than from Saint Peter; and it was not long before the Patriarch of Constantinople vied with the Bishop of Rome in a career of magnificent authority. This rivalry led Pope Gregory to make his famous declaration that any Bishop who claimed the title of Universal Bishop was anti-Christ.

The simple doctrines which the Christ had expounded to the world in his Sermon on the Mount, as an ample exposition of the whole duty of man, were now augmented by unnecessary and perplexing additions. Under Leo the Great, the definitions of the authority of the Bishop of Rome had transformed the earthly head of the Church from a shepherd to a despot. The transparent forms of the primitive Gospel were thrust aside for the impressive and sensuous embellishments of reviving arts. The relics of saints were invested with the power of divine healing. Their graven images could work wondrous miracles. The sacerdotal character assumed an ascendancy which rightfully belonged only to intellectual supremacy. The

people were taught to venerate the effigies of departed prelates. The mystical doctrine of transubstantiation was unfolded. The ceremony of the mass was inaugurated. The system of auricular confession was instituted. Purgatory was established for the souls of the dead who were to be eased in their sufferings by the prayers of the faithful at the altar. The use of indulgences was expounded as of great efficacy to men. The Church placed itself in close sympathy with the emotions of the human mind. The priesthood assured salvation to all who would confess and do penance, the most depraved of the race receiving an absolution at death which secured for them the glories of eternal life upon equal terms with those who had lived holy and devout lives. The natural yearning of mortality to pierce the mysteries of the unseen world led to that pretended communication between earth and heaven, in the most minute affairs, through the interposition of the machinery of the Church, which afterwards provoked the Protestant revolt. The Pope was affirmed to be the veritable successor of Peter and to hold the keys of heaven; and he straightway proclaimed that the eternal gates should be opened to no one outside the pale of the Catholic Church. The sinner who believed could cease from striving, the Church having made his succour sure. Under this policy the Papacy seemed impregnably established. If the precedents contained in the Bible fell short of the aspirations of the Roman hierarchy, mystical traditions were brought forward and invested with an authority equal to that of Holy Writ.

This was the elaborate and magnificent system of religion which was built upon the name of the lowly and unostentatious Nazarene. When the decay of the Roman Empire left Rome a prey to the barbarians who constantly threatened to invade the eternal city, the Pope intrepidly seized the reins of temporal power. The princes of the earth trembled before him; his shepherd's crook was more potent than all their sceptres, and he became the greatest suzerain in Europe. From having been in the first century "the Servant of the Servants of God," the Pope was, under the style of the Papal salute, transformed

in much less than a thousand years into "Lord of Lords and King of Kings." He assembled armies and marched them to Palestine; he wrested the Holy Sepulchre from the custody of the Infidel. His lieutenants were the crowned kings of Europe. When Constantinople rejected his claim of supremacy as Peter's successor he angrily turned his back upon her, and the Turk came and smote her, and was unmolested in his spoil. Kings who questioned his commands lost their crowns. He was not only Christ's vicar on earth, but the Council of Lateran¹ styled him "Our Lord God the Pope." The ancient Jewish theocracy had been reincarnated and earth was again ruled by a kingdom of priests. But the stern aspect of the authority which was borrowed from the Jews was delightfully emblazoned with the beauties of the old Pagan rites. The Papal discipline had all the Jewish severity; the Papal ceremonies had all the Olympian felicity.

With this view of the divine origin and omnipotent power of the Papacy impressed upon the rude minds of those early ages, it is not a cause for wonder that the people bowed in languorous obedience to the invincible Pope. Compare his condition with that of any earthly tyrant. The King dies and his encroachment ends. The Pope lives forever; and the trembling creature whose intellect begins to question the unfathomable mystery of Rome stops affrighted when he realises at the start that heaven may be lost by an excommunication, or that earth may become a barren desert by an interdict. An inexhaustible indulgence brought gracious pardon and divine healing to the soul of every confessing sinner within the Church; the believer could not offend beyond the power of priestly absolution; and only the "unpardonable sin" of adverse private judgment could consign the erring mortal to the endless tortures of an eternal hell.

Could any timorous man exercise his mind or raise his arm against the genius of the Papacy as thus implanted in the heart of Europe? Strange indeed would it be to see the absolute Pope losing his followers, both kings and their peoples depart-

¹ *History of Charles the First*, by Isaac Disraeli, vol. i., p. 221.

ing from the ancient faith or allegiance, until he himself is reduced to the sovereignty of a small portion of Italy, is finally imprisoned by a Catholic Emperor, and then divested of all temporal power. Yet such was his fate. Neither the Inquisition nor the stake, though both were ceaselessly employed to preserve his power, could avert it.

History does not disclose when the first protest against the Papacy was made. It is doubtless true that there were those who transmitted the faith in its ancient simplicity from the days of the Apostles. As early as the fifth century, we find Pope Leo denouncing heresy, a word which originally meant simply choice.¹ But it is certain that in primitive times the valleys of Piedmont became known as the nursery of a large sect called the Vaudois or Waldenses (Men of the Valleys), who were the earliest Protestants and were distinguished for their pious and exemplary lives. Their organisation has been attributed to one Peter Waldus, a rich merchant of Lyon, who became so grievously offended with the impurities of the Church (1160) that he led the people of the Piedmont valleys to a system of independent worship by which each man followed the Christian teachings according to his own understanding of the Scriptures.² Saint Bernard, writing of Waldus's work says: "The churches are without people; the people without priests; the priests without honour; and Christians without Christ. The churches are no longer conceived holy, nor the sacraments sacred, nor are the festivals any more celebrated."³ But while Waldus was one of the prophets of the Waldenses, it seems clear that their

¹ Waddington's *Church History*, p. 69.

² "Peter . . . being a very pious man procured the translation of certain books of the Scripture, especially the four Gospels, and of various passages from the Fathers, from Latin into French, after A. D. 1160. By attentively reading these books, he learned that the religion then commonly taught to the people in the Romish Church, differed altogether from that which Jesus Christ himself and his apostles taught; and earnestly desiring salvation, he distributed his property among the poor, and in the year 1180, with some other pious men, whom he had associated with him, he took upon himself the office of a preacher."—*Institutes of Ecclesiastical History*, by John Lawrence Mosheim, D.D., London, 1841, 4 vols., vol. ii., p. 505.

³ Waddington's *Church History*, p. 288.

tenets flourished much more anciently. A Dominican named Rainer Saccho gives this testimony :

“ There is no sect so dangerous as the Leontists (Waldenses, that is, the People of Lyon) for three reasons : First, it is the most ancient,—some say as old as Sylvester (A.D. 314), others as the apostles themselves. Secondly, it is very generally disseminated ; there is no country where it has not gained some footing. Thirdly, while other sects are profane and blasphemous, this retains the utmost show of piety ; they live justly before men, and believe nothing respecting God which is not good ; only they blaspheme against the Roman Church and clergy, and thus gain many followers.”¹

This passage was written only a few years after the death of Waldus, and if Peter had been indeed the founder of this noble band, the Dominican would not have conceded their origin to so remote an age.²

About the same time other sects were noticed in a more or less flourishing condition in France, in Flanders, in Germany, and in the north of Italy, who were distinguished for their opposition to the Roman Church. But while the ancient darkness was thus pierced by an occasional faint ray of light, it was in England that there suddenly burst upon the religious world with dazzling brilliance and audacity the Morning Star of the Reformation. John Wicliff, then thirty-seven years old, was master of Balliol College, Oxford, in 1361. Thirteen years later, during the struggle that was maintained by Edward III. and his Parliament against the pretensions of the Papacy, he electrified Europe by the learning and eloquence of his reply to the Pope's claim of supremacy. The King soon afterwards sent him to Bruges to confer with the Papal legate for the mitigation of certain grave abuses practised by the Catholic Church in England. While in Flanders he seems to have determined his course, for upon his return to England he boldly

¹ Waddington's *Church History*, p. 290.

² In spite of the clear testimony just quoted, Waldus is accredited by many historians with the founding of this sect, among others being Mosheim, Dieckhoff, and Herzog. But Saint Bernard again writes : “ There is a sect, which calls itself after no man's name, which pretends to be in the direct line of apostolical succession ; and which, rustic and unlearned though it is, contends that the church is wrong, and that itself alone is right.”

attacked the system of the Papacy and styled the Pope "Anti-christ" and "the proud, worldly Priest of Rome." Efforts were made to repress him, but he thrived under persecution. Believing the Bible to be the true guide of the people, he declared that they ought to read it, and he translated it and organised a great body of poor preachers to go from town to town and distribute copies of the Scriptures. He refuted the dogma of transubstantiation, and denied the infallibility of the Pope. His teachings made a vast impression on the public mind. Finally he was "silenced" by ecclesiastical judgment, and ordered into retirement, but persisted with a manly courage and simple faith in addressing the people. He was stricken with paralysis while preaching and died two days later (1384), when sixty years old. His followers were the Lollards, and while they met with many mischances after Wicliff's death, they were never wholly extirpated even up to the time of the Reformation.

But there came a time when there were three giants in the earth:—Leo X., Pope of Rome; Michael Angelo, the master of the Renaissance; and Martin Luther, the Monk of Wittenburg. The history of the Reformation is too vast to be recounted here. But the incident which aroused Luther's sleeping passion was the sale of indulgences, by the proceeds of which Leo was able to avail himself of the genius of Angelo in the decoration of his churches and palaces. The system of indulgences had become a universal scandal. Gradually, the idea that it was in the power of the Church to forgive sin had expanded into the notion that the Pope could issue pardons of his own free will, which, being dispensed to his people, exculpated them from their moral transgressions. The sale of these pardons had become a fruitful source of the Papal revenue; and John Tetzel, a Dominican friar, was one of the chief agents in this shameless traffic. Luther's indignation, smothered for a time, became irrepressible. He wrote ninety-five theses denying the Pope's right to forgive sins, and nailed them on the church door at Wittenburg (1521), offering to maintain them in the university against all disputants. His doctrine was: "If the sinner

was truly contrite, he received complete forgiveness. The Pope's absolution had no value in and for itself." His attack on indulgences soon broadened into a warfare on the whole Papal system. The Emperor of Germany summoned him before the Imperial Diet at Worms and he there confronted the most splendid audience that Europe could assemble. "Unless I be convinced," he said, "by Scripture and reason, I neither can nor dare retract anything, for my conscience is a captive to God's word, and it is neither safe nor right to go against conscience. There I take my stand. God help me, I can take no other course."

Here was a champion who overthrew the Pope. Luther established the Reformation imperishably. Germany revolted from the Papal yoke. All through Europe the new doctrines caused disquiet. Henry VIII. heard of them in England and hastened to write a book against them which prompted the agitated Holder of the Keys to dub him "Defender of the Faith." But this champion of the Papacy was soon to become its greatest scourge. While the spread of Protestantism was temporarily checked by Henry's zeal, a much less holy motive than that which had swayed the mind of Luther, finally instigated Henry himself to revolt against the ancient Church.

Henry VIII., under a dispensation from Pope Julius II., had in contravention of the laws of all civilised countries married the wife of his deceased brother, Arthur. It is now a settled judgment that no Pope has power to dispense with the principle of those laws.¹ Three sons and two daughters had been born to this couple, but they had died in infancy and the Princess Mary survived as their only offspring.² An appalling apprehension of a renewal of the Wars of the Roses, to follow a disputed succession at his death, filled Henry with the greatest perturbation. He had, indeed, a natural son whose mother was a daughter of Sir John Blount, but while illegitimacy was not an absolute bar, William the Conqueror having been a natural son,

¹ *The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon*, by James Anthony Froude; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891, p. 11.

² Lingard's *History of England*, 14 vols., vol. vi., p. 150.

it was improbable that the English people would peaceably accept such a Sovereign. Mary was the presumptive heir to the Crown; but no woman had ever reigned alone in her own right in England. It was impossible that Catherine could again enjoy the privilege of motherhood. Henry was in the flower of his age and yearned for a lawful son. Under these considerations, the repugnance which he had long endured respecting his unnatural alliance, now became insupportable. He appealed to Clement to break the tie which Julius had illegally authorised.

An army of 24,000 Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, commanded by the Duke of Bourbon, had captured Rome and made Clement practically a prisoner. His position was an extremely delicate one. Henry demanded his divorce. Spain, ruled by the brother, and Germany by the nephew of Catherine, threatened him with their displeasure if he yielded. France, which had been led by Wolsey to hope for a matrimonial alliance with Henry, favoured the suit of the English Monarch. Clement at length acceded to Henry's petition. It is gratifying to be able to quote Dr. Lingard, the most eminent of Catholic historians, on this disputed subject. Dr. Lingard says:

"The envoys presented to him [the Pope] for signature two instruments which had been drawn up in England, by the first of which, he empowered Wolsey to hear and decide the cause of the divorce; by the second he granted to Henry a dispensation to marry, in the place of Catharine, any other woman whomsoever, even if she were already promised to another, or related to himself within the first degree of affinity."¹

Clement signed these remarkable documents and formally delegated his full powers to Campeggio and Wolsey, himself declaring the King's marriage null and void; and in advance of hearing

¹ Lingard's *History of England*, vol. vi., p. 172. Dr. Lingard points out that this dispensation was secured to permit Henry to marry Anne Boleyn, who it was thought had been betrothed to Lord Percy, and that the singular provision as to affinity was due to the fact that her sister Mary had been the King's mistress, so that Henry was breaking with Catherine on the score of conscience only to contract another marriage against which an impediment existed that was almost exactly identical. But Mr. Froude has disputed this plausible theory (*The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon*, p. 53), and places a quite different meaning on the peculiar wording of the dispensation.

the case, authorising them to give sentence for Henry. But the proceedings were most tedious. The divorce had been first agitated in 1527; the influence of the German and Spanish Crowns had retarded it; Wolsey had joined the opposition and thereby forfeited his power. Finally Henry defied Rome, declared himself Head of the Church, snatched the English dominions away from the Papacy, and received at the hands of Cranmer, as Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1533, an annulment of the fateful marriage.

The Pope promptly excommunicated Henry, delivering over his soul to the devil and his dominions to the first invader; but the interdict did not turn the English people back to the Papacy, as a similar curse had turned the French in the time of Philip Augustus. The Parliament, standing for the national independence, passed the Act of Supremacy by which the interference of foreign bishops, princes, and potentates was repudiated within the limits of the English dominions. Henry, assuming to himself the power and jurisdiction of a Pope, then commenced the reformation of the Church; still, he could not break far away from the Roman forms. He endeavoured, though with ill success, to suppress Tyndal's translation of the Bible—the only one known to Englishmen; he affirmed that the sacrament of bread and wine was the real body, and approved of the worship of images; he hinted that auricular confession to a priest was necessary, although contrition and amendment of life might accomplish salvation; he averred that ceremonies were good and lawful, as having mystical significations in them; but he renounced Purgatory, declaring that while the souls of the departed might be prayed for, yet they should be left to God's mercy, and that the gross abuses of this doctrine, as in Papal pardons and masses, should be corrected.¹ It was a vast advance for freedom of religion. Four of the seven sacraments were passed over. The Bible and the ancient creeds were made the standards of faith without the traditions of the Church or the decrees of the Pope.

That the clergy had followed their King in his revolt against

¹ Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i., p. 21.

the Papacy is shown by the signing of this declaration by the Archbishop of Canterbury, seventeen bishops, forty abbots and friars, and fifty archdeacons and proctors of the convocation. But a reactionary feeling shortly led Henry and the Parliament to pass the law of the Six Articles, establishing the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession, leaving the Papacy and some of its traditions still eliminated.

Impelled partly by his avarice and partly by his contempt for Rome, Henry now began to suppress the monasteries which under the encouragement of the Papal system had acquired fabulous wealth and power. It was asserted after due examination that these institutions were the hot-beds of the grossest immorality,¹ and they were accordingly seized and their revenues and lands either annexed to the Crown or bestowed upon the favourites of the Court. This confiscation comprised six hundred and forty-five monasteries, of which twenty-eight had abbots who enjoyed a seat in Parliament; ninety colleges; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels; and one hundred and ten hospitals. Certainly the brusque Tudor earned the pseudonym which was with grave humor bestowed upon him, Mauler of Monasteries.

When, upon the death of Henry, Edward VI., his son by Jane Seymour, came to the throne, the Reformation was pushed forward with a piety and spiritual zeal which had been absent in the preceding reign. Edward, though in his boyhood, was gifted with singular wisdom and moderation. The statute of the Six Articles was promptly repealed; and it was enacted that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be administered in both kinds, in accordance with its first institution and the practice of the Church for five hundred years. Private masses were prohibited. Uniformity of worship was enjoined upon the people. But at this moment there arose a controversy over an infinitely inconsiderable incident which led to a permanent

¹ Lingard's *History of England*, vol. vi., p. 303; see also a letter from Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn in Froude's *The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon*, p. 71.

schism in the Church of England. The clergy had continued to wear the vestments of the Roman forms. Many of the preachers were poor; and it was now alleged that the prescribed habits were relics of Popery and should be abolished. Bishop Hooper refused to be consecrated in the clerical robes. Cranmer and Ridley insisted that he must conform to custom. Dr. Rogers and others upheld Hooper. Conformists and Nonconformists disputed about clothes, the Nonconformists soon winning the greater popularity.¹ Out of this breach ultimately grew the various Protestant denominations, and it is fortunate for mankind that the controversy, however trivial in its origin, became unreconcilable; for uniformity in that age would inevitably have fastened another intolerant sacerdotal tyranny upon the world in the place of that which had just been overthrown. Much was heard then and much is heard in this age of an almost universal desire for Christian union; but so long as all Christians acknowledge one Divine Author of their faith, is it not unquestionably to the interest of Christendom that men should maintain honest differences of opinion in matters that are not essential to salvation? It can probably be safely affirmed that a large numerical preponderance in any one of the Christian denominations, ancient or modern, would lead to political inequalities in a greater or less degree which would be prejudicial to the common welfare. Bishop Burnet, on behalf of the King and the Conformists, propounded this question: "What must be done when the major part of a Church is, according to the conscience of the supreme civil magistrate, in an error, and the lesser part is in the right?" The Bishop then answers himself with true Royalist doctrine: "There is no promise in Scripture," he says, "that the majority of pastors shall be in the right; on the contrary it is certain, that truth, separate from interest, has few votaries. Now, as it is not reasonable that the smaller part should depart from their sentiments, because opposed by the majority, whose interest led them to oppose the Reformation, therefore they might take sanctuary in the authority of the prince and the law."² But this is a very

¹ *English Nonconformity*, by Robert Vaughan, D.D., London, 1842, p. 53.

² Burnet's *History of the Reformation*.

palpable fallacy. A hundred and forty years later James II. was on the throne, and James and the minority were Roman Catholics. Would it have been right then for the majority to be guided by the conscience of the supreme civil magistrate? The good Bishop would hardly admit so much. The growth of sects at any stage of the world's history has always emphasised the intellectual and spiritual expansion of the race and broadened the lines of human liberty. From a disputation concerning clothes, the schism soon spread until the Nonconformists directed their attacks against the assumption which the State maintained that it had the right to control the worship and the consciences of the people. Those persons who refused to subscribe the liturgy, ceremonies, and discipline of the Church, as arranged by Archbishop Parker and his Episcopal coadjutors (1564)¹ were called Puritans as a term of reproach for their aspirations after pure hearts and a holy conversation.² The divisions which came among the Puritans at a later date will be described in another place.

The principles of religion which Edward endeavoured, during his short reign, to impress upon his people as the essential spirit of the Reformation, were the right of private judgment, and the sufficiency of the Bible as the rule of faith and life; and, in despite of a multiplicity of sects, no Protestant congregation has ever departed from this broad foundation. No Papists were burnt in Edward's time. Cranmer, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, did much to promote the new forms; but he was narrow, weak, bigoted, and cruel, and while he exhibited a commendable patience towards the Catholics, he destroyed dissenting brethren of his own faith with horrid tortures. At Edward's death (1553), Mary came to the throne without serious opposition; and then might have been realised the words of the Saviour of Mankind, who, foreseeing the miseries that would attend the establishment of his religion, mournfully warned the world that he came not to bring peace but a sword. A pliable Parliament instantly sub-

¹ Fuller says 1564; Strype, 1569.

² Neal's *History of the Puritans*, preface, p. vii.

verted England to that execrable subordination to the Papacy which Rome had exacted of King John when his barons were endeavouring to establish their liberties at Runnymede. Mary and her bishops, Rochester and Bonner, lighted the torch which burned unintermittingly for five years amid the cries of expiring martyrs. All of King Edward's laws with regard to religion were repealed. "It was determined," says Hume, "to let loose the laws in their full vigour against the reformed religion; and England was soon filled with scenes of horror, which have ever since rendered the Catholic religion the object of general detestation, and which prove that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty covered with the mantle of religion.'" Dr. Rogers, Bishop Hooper, Doctors Sanders, Taylor, Philpot, and Farrar, all noted for their fine characters and their prominence in the Church, were burnt at the stake. The torture of Bishops Ridley and Latimer followed in like manner. Cranmer was thrown into prison and there pusillanimously signed no less than six recantations, but without avail, and he died in the flames to which he himself had cruelly consigned others. To deny the real presence, though only in private conversation, was a sufficient cause for this ferocious penalty. Neither age nor sex was spared.² It is computed that 277 victims suffered death at the stake for their opinions under Mary's persecutions. Her reign was marked by a deep trail of blood and a smoking cloud of fagots, which have made her for all time the most odious of England's sovereigns.

Many of the Puritans fled to the Continent and found refuge among their Protestant brethren in France, Flanders, Germany, and Switzerland. In Geneva John Calvin was soon made their leader, and John Knox was likewise there, until sent for to take charge of the church at Frankfort. A disagreement arose among the expatriated Puritans over their forms of worship, some inclining to King Edward's *Book of Common*

¹ Hume's *History of England*, vol. ii., p. 418.

² Hume, Fox, Heylin, Burnet. Dr. Lingard, with admirable candour, recites these cruelties, "at the contemplation of which," he says, "the mind is struck with horror."—Lingard, vol. vii., p. 285.

Prayer, while others objected to it as the "leavings of Popish dregs.¹" At Mary's death, while they all agreed on the essentials of their religion, they were farther apart as to its outward forms than they had been before.

The accession of Elizabeth was hailed as a providential deliverance from the enormities of the past reign. This famous Sovereign restored the Protestant faith to its greatest supremacy, and under her beneficent government an almost universal toleration was established in England. But while Elizabeth's policy was such as to win for her the uninterrupted loyalty and esteem of her subjects, her wisdom was not sufficiently enlightened to convince her that the coercion of religious convictions was beyond the power of an earthly ruler. Therefore her first Parliament passed an act (June 24, 1559) for the uniformity of religion, which was a source of mental disquiet to the Nonconformists throughout her reign, and which produced strife in the Church for nearly a hundred years. Some men preferred their ministers in black gowns, others in surplices, and others in no especial habit; and in attempting to enforce a rigid observance of non-essentials, their gracious Sovereign forgot the precedent of the disagreement among the Romans about eating flesh and observing festivals, which was expediently adjusted by the Apostle Paul in this wise injunction: "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not, and let not him that eateth not judge him that eateth. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. Why dost thou judge thy brother? or, why dost thou set at nought thy brother? For we shall stand before the judgment seat of Christ."² Had the Reformation returned at once to a wise tolerance of minor variation in forms, as it returned to the doctrines of the Apostolic Church, much bitterness and reproach would have been avoided.

From the broad church structure which Cranmer had endeavoured to graft on the roots of English Papacy, and which he vainly hoped would win the approval of all those who

¹ This was Calvin's phrase.

² Romans xiv., 3.

dissented from Rome, there grew branches of Protestantism which were none the less parts of the parent stem because they were branches. The Presbyterians, opposing the rule of bishops, first sprang up in Geneva under Calvin, and in Scotland under Knox. The Independents or Congregationalists arose later (about 1550) out of the Presbyterian Church. The policy of the Independents was that each church or congregation was entitled "to elect its own officers, to manage all its own affairs, and to stand independent of, and irresponsible to, all authority, saving that only of the Supreme and Divine Head of the Church, the Lord Jesus Christ." Its theory was, therefore, the widest departure that had yet transpired in the desertion of the Roman dogmas; and it was the spirit of Independency, whether in or out of that denomination, which finally secured religious freedom to Protestants, and repulsed the encroachments of the civil power. Sir Walter Raleigh, speaking in Parliament in 1592, opposed a bill to transport the Independents (or Brownists, as they were improperly called). "I am sorry for it," he said, "but I am afraid there is near twenty thousand of them in England; and when they are gone, who shall maintain their wives and children?" It was not until Independency took so deep a root in the English religion, and its followers became so numerous in the masses of the people, that the true spirit of Protestantism flourished. The Roman fallacy, that there must be an earthly head of the Church, and that heresy, or choice of opinion, was dangerous to the State, could not be exterminated until the Puritans rose in arms and crushed it,—and crushed with it the pretensions of Church and Crown to absolute power. Henry, in breaking with Rome, was an actual Pope in England; and Cranmer, who came immediately after him, was little less than Pope. Calvin, severe and cruel¹ in spite of his gigantic work in the Reformation, was a Pope in Geneva. Luther, autocratic and splenetic, was a Pope in Germany. Knox, uncompromising and dictatorial, was a Pope in Scotland. These men were all Reformers,

¹ His treatment of Castalio, and especially of Servetus, fully, I think, justifies this harsh word.

and as such they deserve the grateful esteem of mankind ; but had either of them been suffered to reconstruct religion unopposed by a healthful variation of opinions, he would verily have substituted in the place of the Roman oligarchy a system which shortly would have become equally tyrannical and corrupt.

This digression has taken a wide range, but it seemed necessary, in order that the reader might be in possession of the motives and the secret springs of the approaching struggle, to briefly review the history of the search of men and nations after the true God. As Cromwell set out from Huntingdon to take his seat at Westminster, he could not but reflect, in his spirit of deep devotion, that if other men were in spiritual strife or doubt, he at least had found fulfilment of the promise, "Seek and ye shall find."





CHAPTER VII.

ABSOLUTE MONARCHY.

Charles Governs without a Parliament—Public Tranquillity—The King's Advisers—His Uxoriousness—Wentworth—Laud's Bigotry—Members of the Late Parliament Imprisoned—Illegal Taxes—Hampden Refuses to Pay—The Judges Decide against him—Popular Discontent—Charles Goes to Scotland to be Crowned—Star-Chamber Trials—Cases of Prynne, Burton, Bastwick—Their Cruel Punishment—Many Puritans Flee to America—The Tradition of Cromwell's Embarkation Refuted—The English Liturgy in Scotland—High Carriage of the Scots—The First Bishops' War—Conduct of the English Army—Peace of Berwick—Charles Forced to Call his Fourth Parliament—Joy of the Nation—Cromwell Elected for Cambridge—Disputes Renewed—The Short Parliament Dissolved—The Second Bishops' War—The King's Army Retreats—The Scots Invade England—Charles Calls a Council of his Peers—Treaty of Ripon—The Long Parliament—Cromwell a Member.

THE eleven years which elapsed between the dissolution of King Charles's third Parliament and the assembling of his fourth formed a period of great tranquillity for the nation. Lord Clarendon, in his fascinating history, observes that all His Majesty's dominions "enjoyed the greatest calm and the fullest measure of felicity that any people in any age, for so long time together, have been blessed with; to the wonder and envy of all the other parts of Christendom."¹

Still, the absolute Government which the perturbed Monarch now sought to impose upon his people, was but impatiently accepted by them. Charles, who, since the death of Buckingham, had refused to trust others as he had trusted that brilliant

¹ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 74.

and erratic adviser, became his own Minister, and developed his administration upon those narrow theories of kingcraft which he had received from his father. There were no military incidents in this period, excepting a contribution of six thousand men to aid the Protestant cause in the invasion of Germany by the illustrious Gustavus of Sweden; and the religious controversy with Scotland, which brought about, first, the Short Parliament, and afterwards the Long Parliament, and which will be explained on a further page.

The King's chief advisers were, Henrietta Maria, his Queen, the Earl of Strafford, and Archbishop Laud. The Queen, possessed of sense and spirit, beautiful, accomplished, and full of affection, had been enabled ever to hold the unshaken fidelity and devotion of Charles, whose passion for her increased as the difficulties of his situation encompassed him more and more. Strafford, who as Sir Thomas Wentworth had opposed the King in the preceding Parliaments and been instrumental in forwarding the passage of the Petition of Right, was now come over to the Court party, and enjoyed the lucrative posts of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and President of the Council of York. William Laud, Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury and Commissioner of the Treasury, acquired a high ascendancy over the ceremonial King; and it was chiefly by his counsels that those measures of religious restriction were adopted which, taken with the evils of the civil government, finally aroused the Puritans to revolt.

It was the severity, intolerance, and bigotry of William Laud in the spiritual affairs of the realm, more than the political course of the King and of Strafford, which finally led the people to form themselves into two conflicting armies. The Puritans would rather have given up all they possessed, and turned their backs on country and kindred, than conform to the innovations which the Archbishop had introduced into the English Church; and Laud would rather have had them leave the country than not conform. The unwisdom of this course will be seen by comparing it with the policy of Richelieu who, while entertaining a violent hatred of Protestantism,

so wrought upon the patriotism of the Protestants that they were always glad to join the Catholics in defence of their common country. In England Laud depressed the Puritans so as to undermine their loyalty to the Crown. Under his system of governmental preferments it soon became apparent to all that the good order, morality, and piety of the Church were suffering a serious decline.

The first step taken by Charles after the dissolution of the third Parliament was to lay an information in the Star Chamber for seditious speech against nine members of the House of Commons, Sir John Eliot, Denzil Hollis, Benjamin Valentine, Walter Long, William Coriton, William Strode, John Seldon, Sir Miles Hobart, and Sir Peter Hayman.¹ Of these men Sir John Eliot refused to acknowledge his fault, was fined heavily, and thrown into prison, where he died; while two others, Hollis and Strode, were twelve years later immortalised by being named in the writ for the arrest of the five members.

A proclamation was issued accounting it presumption for any one to suggest the calling of another Parliament.

Tonnage and poundage continued to be assessed by the royal authority without the consent of Parliament.

In order that the militia might be duly drilled, each county was assessed a certain sum for maintaining a muster-master, appointed for that purpose.

Compositions were openly made with the recusant Catholics, and the religion of that sect became a regular source of the revenue. The Catholics were not oppressed in any other way during the reign of Charles, and the harsh laws which the Puritan spirit of the nation had called forth against them were allowed to sink into a tolerant inactivity.

A commission was issued for compounding with those enjoying Crown lands upon defective titles,—an expedient by which some money was secured to the gaping Treasury.²

An old statute, now thought to be obsolete, was revived, by which all who possessed twenty pounds a year should be

¹ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 666.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 49.

obliged, when summoned, to appear and receive the order of knighthood.¹

Monopolies were erected. Soap, leather, salt, and other commodities were put under the control of commercial oligarchies, which extorted large prices for their goods.²

The last and perhaps the most obnoxious measure for replenishing the royal exchequer, was the famous, or infamous, writ of ship-money, in which the sheriff of every county in England was directed "to provide a ship of war for the King's service, and to send it amply provided and fitted, by such a day, to such a place"; and with that writ instructions were sent to each sheriff, that "instead of a ship, he should levy upon his county such a sum of money, and return the same to the Treasurer of the Navy for His Majesty's use," with directions for proceeding against those who refused to pay.³ This was ship-money, "a word," says Clarendon, "of a lasting sound in the memory of this kingdom, by which for some years really accrued the yearly sum of two hundred thousand pounds to the King's coffers." It was John Hampden's refusal to pay this tax (his share of which was only some twenty shillings), and the great trial which followed, that first won for him the admiration of all patriotic Englishmen.⁴ In this trial the judgment of the court was in the King's behalf, and men who had heretofore paid the tax as a loan or favour to the King in his necessity, were now offended when it was exacted as his legal right. "They no more looked upon it," remarks the noble historian, "as the case of one man, but the case of the kingdom, nor as an imposition laid upon them by the King, but by the judges, which they thought themselves bound in conscience to the public justice not to submit to." Men were willing to admit that urgent necessity or public safety would justify on occasion an extreme exercise of the regal power in the levying of this arbitrary tax. But when the judges sustained the action of the King's council as sound doctrine of law, and

¹ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 67.

² Rushworth, vol. ii., pp. 136, 142-189, 252.

³ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 68.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 68.

found the levy of the twenty shillings to be legal for no other reason than that Hampden could afford to pay the money, it was justly considered that the liberties of the subject were being unduly invaded.

In 1633 Charles made a royal progress to Scotland to be crowned King there, and he was received by the people with every sign of welcome and loyalty. The popular discontents did not then seem to have passed beyond the Tweed. Dr. Laud preached on a Sunday in the chapel at Edinburgh, and took occasion to recommend to his hearers the duty of conformity to the Episcopalian worship, his remarks on that subject being received with an apparently gracious accord.¹

The Court of Star Chamber resumed its activities upon the King's return to London. Sir David Fowlis was fined five thousand pounds for having dissuaded a friend from compounding with the commissioners of knighthood.²

There were three individuals whose malice towards the Government was notorious, and whose parts were looked upon with slight respect, yet who now became popular heroes by the severe treatment they received in the Star Chamber. These were William Prynne, a lawyer, Henry Burton, a preacher, and John Bastwick, a physician. While they were not esteemed to possess unusual ability in their several professions, yet, like others of mediocre parts, they were all too willing to accept the crown of martyrdom, and martyrs they became. Prynne had written an absurd book vulgarly denouncing the established hierarchy and the practices of the English Church, especially the new superstitions introduced by Laud. He was condemned to be disbarred from practice, to stand in the pillories of Westminster and Cheapside, to have both ears cut off, one in each place; to pay five thousand pounds to the King, and suffer imprisonment for life.³ The other two offenders were treated with equal brutality. Prynne, regaining his liberty after a time, renewed his attacks, and had his ears—or what was left of

¹ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 82.

² Rushworth, vol. ii., pp. 202, 203.

³ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 94; Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 223.

them—cut off a second time, receiving another heavy fine and another imprisonment.¹ These persecutions aroused general indignation. The universal desire for political and religious liberty drove many of the Puritans to America. On one occasion, eight ships were weighing anchor in the Thames and ready to sail, when they were stayed by an order from Council. According to two Royalist historians,² there were present on those vessels Sir Arthur Hazelrig, John Hampden, John Pym, and Oliver Cromwell in search of new homes in a new world. The story is popular but not credible, as Rushworth records, that, on receiving a petition from the merchants, passengers, and owners of the ships, “His Majesty was graciously pleased to free them from their late restraint, to proceed in their intended voyage.”³ If our four patriots were on the ships there was thus no reason for their disembarkation. But there can be no doubt that an emigration to America, as a means of evading the insufferable evils of the times, had been discussed among these men and their associates. Lord Brooke and Lord Saye-and-Sele had purchased a large tract of land in America and established a settlement named after both, Saybrook, and there is evidence that Pym, Hampden, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Lord Mandeville, and the Earl of Warwick were financially interested in the transaction.⁴ It is entirely reasonable to assume that Oliver Cromwell, encouraged by his cousin John Hampden, was also an investor. It might be interesting to conjecture what the history of England would have been, had these men undertaken to endure a patriot’s exile in America instead of engaging in the alternative of civil war.

Laud, in 1637, sought to introduce the English liturgy into Scotland, and his efforts were attended by a disastrous failure. Any project which this man laid his hand to was instantly beset with the cry of Popery, so great was the nation’s abhorrence of the innovations which he had introduced. A Papist he was

¹ Rushworth, vol. ii., pp. 381, 382.

² Dr. George Bates and Sir W. Dugdale.

³ Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 409.

⁴ Forster’s *Statesmen*, p. 161.

not, although he had at times considered the feasibility of a reconciliation between the English and the Roman Churches. But the texture of his religion was similar to that of Rome. Hume says: "The same profound respect was exacted to the sacerdotal character, the same submission required to the creeds and decrees of synods and councils; the same pomp and ceremony was affected in worship; and the same superstitious regard to days, postures, meats, and vestments. No wonder, therefore, that this prelate was everywhere among the Puritans regarded with horror, as the forerunner of Antichrist." And so, on Sunday, the 23d of July, 1637, a Scottish Bishop, acting as the instrument of Laud, took up the new liturgy. "Let us read the collect of the day," he said, and Jennie Geddes hurled her stool at his head! "De'il colic the wame of thee!" answered Jennie. "Thou foul thief, wilt thou say *mass* at my lug?" The word *mass* was taken up and there was a great outcry. "A Pope, a Pope!" cried some, "stone him!" Turbulent scenes were enacted in all the other churches where attempts were made to introduce the new ceremonies. In short, the Scottish nation with one voice rejected the liturgy. Hume, always an apologist and pleader for the King, sententiously observes: "The treacherous, the cruel, the unrelenting Philip, accompanied with all the terrors of a Spanish Inquisition, was scarcely, during the preceding century, opposed in the Low Countries with more determined fury, than was now, by the Scots, the mild, the humane Charles, attended with his inoffensive liturgy."¹

The first act in Scotland which followed the rejection of the liturgy was the universal adoption of the famous Covenant.²

¹ Hume, vol. ii., p. 68. Macaulay speaks in very similar terms of Charles and Laud: "He (Charles I.) was not, in name and profession, a Papist; we say name and profession, because both Charles and his creature Laud, while they abjured the innocent badges of Popery, retained all its worst vices—a complete subjection of reason to authority, a weak preference of form to substance, a childish passion for mummeries, an idolatrous veneration for the priestly character, and, above all, a merciless intolerance."—*Essay on Milton*.

² Hume, vol. i., p. 101.

³ The intolerance of Charles is shown by his reference to this instrument as "the damnable Covenant."—Disraeli, vol. iv., p. 295.

This obligation required the subscribers to renounce Popery, to resist religious innovations, and to defend each other against all opposition whatever, for the greater glory of God, and the greater honor and advantage of their King and country. The people, without regard to age, sex, or condition, made haste to sign the Covenant. There was no subsidence of the tumult, and Charles sent the Marquis of Hamilton, the most prominent Scottish nobleman, and closely attached to the royal interests, as commissioner to treat with the Covenanters. When Hamilton proposed that they renounce and recall the Covenant, they plainly told him that they would sooner renounce their baptism. Hamilton returned to England with this answer, and was immediately sent back with more satisfactory concessions. The King was now willing to abandon all those measures of religion for Scotland which had been so patiently cherished both by King James and himself. He would abolish the liturgy, the canons, and the high commission court, and Hamilton was invested with authority to call first an Assembly, and then a Parliament, where every national grievance might receive redress. These proposals displayed the humanity and betrayed the weakness of the King. The Covenanters willingly accepted the Assembly and the Parliament, in which they expected to have control, but they relinquished nothing on their own part. The Scottish people were filled with devotion to the King and respect for his government, but their fear of Popery and their detestation of the ecclesiastical tyranny of Laud moved them to the adoption of such measures for the protection of their religion, that Charles summoned an army and marched towards Scotland to subdue them. This was in May, 1639.

The brave Northerners were not to be frightened by a show of force, and they gathered a small army under the command of David Leslie, a soldier trained in the Low Country wars, and marched forward with Scotland's best nobility in the ranks to "humbly present their grievances to the King."

The English army was commanded by the Earl of Arundel, a nobleman of such magnificence that he "resorted sometimes

to the Court because there only was a greater man than himself, and went thither the seldomer because there was a greater man than himself.”¹ The Earl of Essex was Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of Holland General of the Horse. The royal fleet was entrusted to the charge of the Marquis of Hamilton. Charles had, under an old feudal custom, summoned all the nobility of his realm to attend him in this expedition at their own charge, and it seems clear that he depended more upon the pomp and circumstance of war to overcome the opposition of his Scottish subjects, than upon a sanguinary battle. This feeling was likewise entertained by the Army, the common soldiers calling it “a Bishops’ war.” By the time the King reached York a suspicion had gained lodgment in his breast, that certain men of station who accompanied him did not regard the uprising in Scotland with that abhorrence of rebellion which should inflame a loyal subject. It was unwisely proposed that a short protestation be drawn, in which all men should “profess their loyalty and obedience to His Majesty, and disclaim and renounce the having any intelligence, *or holding any correspondence with the rebels.*” This device unmasked some malcontents, Lord Brooke and Lord Saye being among those who could not in conscience subscribe the protestation; and we have the admission from Whitelock, the Parliamentary historian, that both Pym and Hampden, while not in this army, were engaged in correspondence with the Scottish leaders who were responsible for this aggression.

Essex moved forward with a large part of the royal forces, and occupied Berwick without other opposition than the solemn warning, repeated many times by Scottish gentlemen whom he met on his march, that he would be overwhelmed and annihilated by a superior army as soon as he approached the walls of that town. The King followed Essex to the borders of Scotland, and encamped his forces in an open field called the Berks, on the farther side of Berwick. The Earl of Holland with three thousand horse, two thousand foot, and a train of artillery, marched some twelve miles beyond the

¹ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 114.

border to a place called Dunce. When he came in sight of the Scottish forces, their banners bearing the legend "For Christ's Crown and Covenant," he was deceived, by reason of the manner in which they were placed among the trees on the brow of a hill; and thinking their numbers greatly in excess of what they really were, he instantly retired to the King's camp "with an account," says Clarendon with naïve humor, "of what he heard and saw, or believed he saw, and yet thought not fit to stay for an answer."¹

The Scots promptly sent letters to the King "lamenting their ill fortune, that their enemies had so great credit with the King, as to persuade him to believe that they were or could be disobedient to him, a thing that could never enter into their loyal hearts; that they desired nothing but to be admitted into the presence of their gracious Sovereign, to lay their grievances at his royal feet, and leave the determination of them entirely to his own wisdom and pleasure."² Other messages, the most humble and submissive in spirit, were sent to the King, and a peace, known as the Pacification of Berwick, soon followed. The King indiscreetly disbanded his army before any of the obligations of this agreement were carried out by the Scots, and he had no sooner reached London than he discovered that the late military affair was wholly without substantial result; and he then determined, with fatal tenacity, to make war upon them a second time and conquer their obstinacy.

In all these years every expedient known to absolute rulers had been used to raise a revenue sufficient to carry on the Government. But taxes and loans, monopolies, compoundings, knighthoods, ship-money, and all the other desperate resources of this desperate Monarch, had been exhausted. There was palpably but one thing which he could now do. That was to trust his people. Accordingly he called his fourth Parliament, to the great joy of all England which had thought never to see a Parliament again. Before this step was taken, the Earl of

¹ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 119.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 120.

Strafford was despatched to Ireland, to call a Parliament there, from which he procured a large sum of money, with a further offer of "their persons and estates," if required. It was vainly hoped that this action would influence the English Parliament to like liberality and devotion.

The fourth Parliament, known to history as the Short Parliament, met April 13, 1640, with Oliver Cromwell sitting in it for Cambridge. Its members, smarting under the arbitrary acts of the King's Government during the past eleven years, had assembled under a grim determination to assert their rights as representatives of the people of England. The King sent the usual message, requesting supply. The Commons pursued their usual dilatory and exasperating tactics, giving precedence to their grievances, which were set forth in a great speech by John Pym. The House of Lords, swayed by the most amicable sentiments towards both King and Commons, presumed to advise that the first business should be supply. The Commons resented this timely advice as "so high a breach of privilege, that they could not proceed with any other matter until they first received satisfaction and reparation from the House of Peers." The Lords apologised humbly, but the Commons would not be appeased, and they appointed a committee to examine the history of England in order that it might be ascertained whether so grievous an affront had ever before been put upon a House of Commons. When several days had been spent in this manner, and the urgent necessities of the Government were no nearer relief, the King sent them a message, commiserating the unhappy estrangement between the two Houses, and offering, if Parliament would grant him twelve subsidies to be paid in three years, to forever relinquish his claims to the obnoxious ship-money tax.¹ Acquiescence with this suggestion would have gone far towards relaxing the strained relations which existed between Charles and his Parliament. But the Commons would not have it so. Certain members observed that "they were to purchase a release of an imposition very unjustly laid upon the kingdom, and by

¹ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 135.

purchasing it they should upon the matter confess it had been just, which no man in his heart acknowledged."¹ A whole day was consumed in a fruitless though good-tempered debate on the message. There was but one ill-natured speech made, and that was by "a private country gentleman, little known," who observed that the supply was to be employed in supporting the Episcopal war, which he thought the Bishops were fittest to do themselves.² The identity of this speaker has not been disclosed. The next day John Hampden, the most popular man in the House, perhaps the most popular man in England, moved the question, "Whether the House would consent to the proposition made by the King as it was contained in the message?" This motion would undoubtedly have been carried against the King, if put to the question then. But Sergeant Glanville, the Speaker of the House, who stood upon the floor while the Commons, as Committee of the Whole, were debating the message, delivered an eloquent and pathetic speech, pleading for a grant of the sum demanded by the King. He denounced ship-money and the judgment of the court against Hampden on that tax. But he advised them that he had computed the amount which he would have to pay on his extensive estates under the twelve subsidies, and the amount seemed so small as to disarm opposition. He implored them to comply with the King's desire "for the good of the nation, and to reconcile him to Parliaments forever, which this seasonable testimony of their affections would infallibly do." This appeal seemed to touch his hearers sensibly; but some who were bent on nothing if not to oppose the royal will demurred to his counsels and demanded the question.³

Then Lord Clarendon, at that time sitting as Mr. Hyde, arose, and desired that the question might not be put. He told Mr. Hampden that it was a captious question, to which only those who were opposing the King would give their votes. He reminded the House that those who desired to

¹ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 136.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 136.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 137.

give the King a supply, as he believed most did, while they might differ as to the proportion and the manner, could receive no satisfaction by that question. He therefore proposed an amendment that the question of supply alone should be put, to be followed, if carried in the affirmative, by questions for the amount and the manner. If the first motion were carried in the negative, he told them, it would produce the same effect as the other question proposed by Mr. Hampden would do.¹

Hyde's motion was expedient and timely, and contained an easy solution of the existing entanglement; and there were loud calls for the Speaker to put the question. "Mr. Hyde's question," cried some. "Mr. Hampden's question," cried others. The confusion increased, and the spirit of the House waxed hot. There was a chance for Hyde's motion to pass when Sir Henry Vane the elder rashly stood up, and, as an officer of the King's household, warned the House that it would be useless to adopt Hyde's motion; "for," he said, "if you should pass a vote for the giving the King a supply, if not in the manner and proportion proposed in His Majesty's message, it will not be accepted by him!"²

This speech, which Clarendon avers to be the outcome of Vane's malice, and of which Whitelock says that in demanding twelve subsidies Vane exceeded the King's wish by one-half, incensed the Parliament. The afternoon was far spent and the House wearily adjourned. When they met the next morning they were summoned to the House of Lords, and dissolved by the royal command. This was on the 5th of May, 1640.³

This Parliament lasted but three weeks, and the time was consumed by Pym's speech on the grievances of the nation, the altercation between the two Houses on the right of the Commons to originate the appropriation bills, and the debate on the King's message asking for twelve subsidies.

The nation was greatly distressed by this sudden dissolution,

¹ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 138.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 139.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 139. *Parl. History*, vol. ii., p. 571.

for it was thought that an equal number of sober and dispassionate men would never sit in Parliament again during those troublous times. It must be acknowledged, however, that while the general bearing of the Commons was extremely loyal and apparently pliant to the King's desires, there were those among them who, wearing smooth faces and speaking meek words, had come to Parliament with a deep-rooted desire to subdue the King and destroy his power.

The King was greatly discomfited by the failure of his effort to win the support of his Parliament. He saw that he had been guilty of rash judgment in its hasty dissolution, and even inquired of his advisers whether he might by proclamation assemble them once more. Finding that impossible, and being wholly without money, his borders threatened by an invading army, and every measure for unlawful taxation already exhausted, he was well-nigh driven to despair. In this embarrassing situation he made an emphatic appeal to his friends for assistance. The Lords of the Council, and others of the nobility, as well as private gentlemen of means, advanced him money with so much alacrity that in the course of a fortnight he was in possession of three hundred thousand pounds,¹ an amount contributed by a few friends which was equal to nearly six of the twelve subsidies he had sought to obtain from the whole nation.

An army was quickly raised for service against the Scots. The officers of the former campaign were generally slighted, an affront to be remembered by them at a later day. The Earls of Essex, Arundel, and Holland were displaced. The young Earl of Northumberland was made General, and Lord Conway General of the Horse. The Earl of Strafford went to Ireland and gathered both men and money there. In the meantime Northumberland was seized with a dangerous sickness, and Strafford, himself in ill-health, hurried back to England to take command as Lieutenant-General, leaving the Earl of Ormond in charge of Irish affairs.

Before the arrival of Strafford, the Lord Keeper Conway, a

¹ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 140.

man of voluptuous habits, but who had already won an enviable reputation in arms, a man of learning, and of unquestioned devotion to the King, marched his cavalry to the banks of the Tweed near Newburn, and sat down there in a secure encampment to watch the Scots. And it was here that his army was subjected to a rout that was irreparable, unexplainable, and infamous. The Scottish hosts appeared upon the opposite bank of the river at a time and place when they were expected, made their way through a deep though fordable stream, and up a hill where the English waited in battle array to receive them. On the near approach of the Scots the whole English force, without giving or taking a blow, turned and fled pell-mell, the horse flying from Newburn, and the foot, who had caught the infection of fear, retreating in disorder from Newcastle. Conway made no attempt to stop this headlong flight, although his troops, when they found themselves not pursued, were heartily ashamed of themselves and begged that they be led once more to meet the foe. But they were conducted to Durham, where Strafford found them on his return from Ireland. The Scots, meanwhile, unable to comprehend that they had won a great victory, surrounded the fortifications of Newcastle, but dared not enter until, after standing there for two days, they felt reasonably sure that the stronghold could be occupied without resistance.¹

The King and Strafford were incensed at the cowardly retreat of the English forces, and Strafford expressed his indignation so forcibly that he became an object of greater aversion to the army than the Scots themselves, against whom it seems pretty well established there was no very bitter hatred. He withdrew the army to Yorkshire and he himself followed the King to York. If the English troops had proved themselves worthy of reliance they could have beat back the Scots beyond the Tweed without great effort. Or if the nation had been filled with a tranquil loyalty towards the King, the train bands of Yorkshire alone could have crushed this invasion. But the King could trust no one. Once more his money was

¹ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 144.

gone. A foreign enemy was fortified in his very kingdom. His army, and the people generally, he felt to be unfaithful. In this extremity a petition arrived from a number of Lords and other influential persons in London, plainly bearing the handiwork of Pym and Hampden, beseeching him to call a Parliament.

And a Parliament must needs be called forthwith. But Charles was not sufficiently courageous to assemble his Parliament by the most direct method. That would be too humiliating. Instead, he called a great council of all the Peers of England to attend him at York, that their advice might be had in this pressing emergency. The precise object of Charles in calling his Peers together was not explained at the time, nor has research in our times disclosed a satisfactory reason. Whether it was the King's thought that they, as a part of the highest estate of the realm, would recognise his perilous situation, and, through that, their own dangerous environment; whether he expected them to stand with him in his usurpation of all the powers of the Government and set the Commons at defiance; or whether, by having the whole body of the Peers petition for a Parliament, he intended to save a part of his dignity, at the same time acceding to this great desire of the nation, are questions which each student of history must resolve for himself. It is probable that the King was moved by a partial consideration of all these motives. The Peers came together, and promptly advised that a Parliament be straightway called. The King acceded to this request with such grace as the occasion permitted, and writs were issued calling the Parliament for November 3, 1640.

The Council of State, which had supported the King in the amazing methods of government of the past eleven years, contained Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Strafford, and Lord Cottington, as principal ministers; and joined with them were the Earl of Northumberland, a young nobleman to whom Charles was much attached; Juxon, Bishop of London, as High-Treasurer; and the two secretaries, Sir Henry Vane the elder and Sir Francis Windebank. The Marquis of Hamilton,

an intriguing but powerful Scot, was also closely identified with the King's policy.

In the meantime a treaty of peace was put into negotiation with the Scots at Ripon, the sitting of the commission for pacification being shortly afterwards removed to London, where the Court followed them. The Scottish army was still on English soil. With this situation of affairs confronting the nation, on the 3d of November, 1640, the Long Parliament met at Westminster.

In the chair was Speaker Lenthall, and in front of him, John Rushworth, as Assistant Clerk, making careful record of the proceedings for the perusal of posterity. Pym sat on the left side some distance down the hall. Between him and the Speaker were Edmund Waller, the poet; Denzil Hollis, afterwards named as one of the five members; Henry Marten, the witty, the delightful, the dissolute Republican; and Oliver St. John, a severe and unrelenting patriot, whose place as Attorney-General could not corrupt him from his conscientious opposition to the Court. On the opposite side were Edward Hyde, afterwards the Earl of Clarendon, whose graceful history is one of the chief literary achievements of that age; his friend Lord Falkland, and Sir Henry Vane, Senior, one of the King's Secretaries. Near these, on the same side, were William Strode, another one of the obnoxious five, Alderman Pennington, and the Huntingdon "sloven," Oliver Cromwell. John Selden, Sir Arthur Hazelrig, and young Sir Harry Vane were also there, together with many others whose names became prominent only as the stirring times afforded them opportunities to play their parts.¹

¹ The location of the members is given in Sir Symonds d'Ewes's Diary preserved in manuscript in the British Museum, and quoted in Prof. James K. Hosmer's *Young Sir Henry Vane*, p. 105.



CHAPTER VIII.

THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

The Long Parliament Strikes at the King through his Minister—Strafford's Career—Appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland—His Policy of "Thorough"—Is Refused an Earldom—Charles Seeks his Advice—Is Created Earl of Strafford—Raises an Army in Ireland—Puritans Mark him for Punishment—The Nation's Fear of Popery—Strafford Impeached—His Trial—Failure of the Charges against him—Testimony of the Vanes—Strafford's Skilful Defence—His Pathetic Speech—Convicted by an Ex-Post-Facto Law—The King Promises to Save his Life—Mobs Demand the Earl's Punishment—Charles Pleads with Parliament for Clemency—The Commons Inexorable—Strafford's Execution—His Death a Blow to Absolute Government.

NO sooner had the Long Parliament come together than a desperate blow was struck at the assumptions of the Crown. This consisted in a successful attempt to destroy the Prime-Minister. Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, Baron Wentworth, and Baron of Raby, was born in Chancery Lane on Good Friday, April 13, 1593. His family boasted a descent from John of Gaunt, and later, from Margaret, Duchess of Somerset, the grandmother of Henry VII. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where the elegant occupations of scholarship consumed all of his time. His letters indicate that at this period he explored nearly the whole realm of polite literature. Having attained the age of eighteen, he, in accordance with a custom of the time, set out for foreign travel, spending some fourteen months on the continent in charge of a tutor. Upon his return to England he was knighted by James I., and married soon afterwards to Lady Margaret Clifford, a daughter of the Earl of Cumberland. This lady lived but a short time. After a decent period of mourn-

ing, he married his best-beloved spouse, Lady Arabella Holles, a sister of Denzil Holles, and after her death he was united to Elizabeth Rhodes, the daughter of a simple Knight, this third wife surviving him. He sat in the Parliaments of King James, and enjoyed sufficient favour from Buckingham to secure the office of Keeper of the Records for the West Riding of Yorkshire.

In the Parliaments of Charles he continued to be a prominent member, and was identified with Pym, Selden, Seymour, and Eliot in those early measures of the first Parliament which it was fondly hoped would restrict the King's authority. Early in 1626 he made formal application to Buckingham for the Presidency of the Council of York, a judicial body erected with somewhat extraordinary powers, with jurisdiction in the northern parts of England. He failed of his desire, and in the next Parliament (1626) his place of Keeper of the Rolls was taken from him through Buckingham's displeasure. At the expiration of this Parliament the Forced Loans were demanded, and Wentworth was assessed for £40. He refused to pay this and was thrown into prison, his incarceration being shared by the Lady Arabella, who presented him with his second child there.¹ While thus restrained of his liberty he was elected to the third Parliament of Charles (1628), where he became further distinguished for the vehemence of his opposition to the Court. He inveighed with great warmth of language against those measures of the King's advisers, the adoption of which by himself at a later day cost him his head. He said :

¹ There is a delightful passage in a letter from her brother Denzil Holles to Wentworth at this time, which I cannot omit to copy. "I am most glad," he writes, "to hear my sister is in so fair a way of recovering strength since she last made you the second time a father. I wish she may many times do it to both your comforts, and every time still with more comfort than the former; that yet in our private respects we may have some cause of joy since the public affords us so little. . . . And now I will close my letter as you do yours (with thanks by the way for it, as also for the whole letter), heartily praying she may so continue, to make you a glad father of many goodly and godly boys—and some wenches among, lest the seventh work miracles, as old wives will tell us,—and herself to be a joyful and good mother, as I know she is a good and loving wife, and long may she so be to your comfort and her own."

“ They have introduced a Privy Council, ravishing at once the spheres of all ancient Government, imprisoning us without bail or bond. They have taken from us — what shall I say? Indeed, what have they left us? They have taken from us all means of supplying the King and ingratiating ourselves with him by tearing up the roots of all property; which, if they be not seasonably set into the ground by His Majesty’s hand, we shall have instead of beauty, baldness.”

Through all the debates in this Parliament on subsidies Wentworth spoke and voted with the opposition, keeping fully abreast with Pym and Eliot in the boldness of his denunciations of the King’s demands. What was the astonishment of the country, therefore, when, within three weeks of the prorogation of this Parliament, they learned that Sir Thomas Wentworth, the staunch patriot, had been created a Baron, and shortly afterwards a Viscount; and, finally, that he had been appointed to the important position of President of the North! The reasons for his apostacy are not known. A fair presumption is that he was ambitious, as other able men have been ambitious, and that as his preferment could come only from the King’s favour, he had surrendered, or altered, his principles of popular rights in such a manner as to permit his advocating for the future the policy of the Crown. That he honestly believed the Commons were at that time carrying their restriction of the prerogative with a too high hand, cannot for a moment be admitted. He had been far too active in the conduct of the opposition to make so charitable an explanation plausible. One theory of his desertion is that he joined the popular side only for the purpose of convincing Buckingham, who had refused him the Presidency of the North, that he was not one who could be safely despised, and having proved his power, he was now ready to support the Crown. But whatever the cause, his desertion was viewed by the Parliamentarians with the deepest chagrin, and Pym is reported to have said to him, on the eve of his departure for York: “ You are going to leave us, I see; but we will never leave you while your head is on your shoulders.”

No sooner had he attached himself to the Court party than Buckingham, falling beneath the murderous stroke of Felton’s knife, passed away, and Wentworth entered upon the discharge

of his duties in the Council of the North with greater freedom for his abilities than would have been permitted to him under the control of the favourite. In his inaugural address before that body he said :—and who would look for these words from the hot-headed patriot of a year before ?

“ To the joint individual well-being of sovereignty and subjection do I here vow all my cares and diligence through the whole course of my ministry. I confess I am not ignorant how some distempered minds have of late endeavoured to divide the consideration of the two as if their ends were distinct, not the same, nay, in opposition ; a monstrous, a prodigious birth of a licentious conception ; for so should we become all head or all members. But God be praised, human wisdom, common experience, Christian religion, teach us far otherwise.”

Then, in a burst of enthusiastic loyalty, he picturesquely observes :

“ Princes are to be indulgent, nursing fathers to their people ; their modest liberties, their sober rights, ought to be precious in their eyes ; the branches of their government be for shadow, for habitation, the comfort of life. They repose safe and still under the protection of their sceptres. Subjects, on the other side, ought, with solicitous eyes of jealousy, to watch over the prerogatives of the Crown. The authority of a King is the keystone which closeth up the arch of order and Government, which contains each part in due relation to the whole, and, which once shaken and infirmed, all the frame falls together into a confused heap of foundation and battlement, of strength and beauty.”

When it became necessary to assess those obnoxious measures of taxation which have been already described, Wentworth exacted them with an iron hand and punished contumacious land-holders with very little display of patience, forgetting, it seemed, the imprisonment which he himself had undergone rather than pay unlawful fines. The success of his administration was complete, and, his capacity for larger employment having been fully developed, he was (1632) appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, a position to which the major part of his melancholy fame belongs.

Upon assuming charge of the Lord Deputyship he discovered that Irish affairs were in a very deplorable condition. Of the annual contribution of £120,000 for the support of the army not more than £106,000 had been paid in. Wentworth refused to listen to any suggestion to reduce the military establishment,

and found himself confronted with the necessity for devising new methods of finance. The arsenals had been suffered to lapse into decay; the coasts were guarded only by two small vessels which the Lords Justices declared were all the country could afford, although the channels were infested with pirates, who had just captured a ship containing linen of the value of £500 belonging to the Lord Deputy; Dublin Castle was in a ruinous condition; and the churches were lacking repair, one of them being used as a stable for the horses of Wentworth's predecessor.

The new Lord Deputy began his administration with the wisdom and energy which always characterised his public services. He laid a more autocratic hand on public affairs than his companions at the Irish Council table could view with favour, and some enmities were engendered in their bosoms which burst forth in the hour of his peril to ruin him. The Lords Justices desired him to recoup the revenue by a merciless infliction of the penalties prescribed against Catholics. This he refused to do, and directed that the taxes be assessed in lawful proportion, unbiassed by religious prejudices. He paid special attention to the cultivation of the commercial industries of Ireland, especially flax, hemp, and wool. His mind was possessed with a desire to develop the natural resources of that fruitful island. "Ireland," he wrote to the Home Government, "seems now only to want foreign commerce to make them a rich, civil, and contented people, and consequently more easily governed by Your Majesty's Ministers under the dictate of your wisdom, and the more profitably for your Crown, than in a savage and poor condition." A naval force was secured from England and piracy was suppressed. A Parliament was called to sit at Dublin (1635-36) which, under Wentworth's firm hand, was perfectly tractable to the King's desires. Charles had been reluctant to assemble the Parliament, but the Lord Deputy had persisted until he carried his point. It was here that the first clear glimpse of his policy of "Thorough" is obtained. Should the Parliament fail to grant the King's demands, "I could not," writes Wentworth, "in a cause so just and necessary, deny to

appear for him at the head of the army, and there either persuade them fully that His Majesty had reason on his side, or else think it a great honour to die in the pursuit"—of what both justice and piety command him to regard as his duty.

The marks of the royal favour which his vigorous policy in Ireland elicited, encouraged him to apply for an earldom, but it was refused. Soon after he was summoned to England to answer charges against his administration, which were met by him with so much skill and candour that Charles was delighted, and the earldom was again asked for. Wentworth argued that if he returned to Ireland without the coveted promotion, his vindication would not be complete, and the strength of his Government would be weakened. But Charles again refused. "The marks of my favour," said the King, with an apparent frankness which only irritated his aspiring Minister, "which stop malicious tongues are neither places nor titles, but the little welcome I give to accusers, and the willing ear I give to my servants. I will end with a rule that may serve for a statesman, a courtier, or a lover—*never make an apology till you be accused.*"

It does not appear that the King availed himself of Wentworth's judgment up to this time in affairs other than those connected with his positions in Ireland and the Council of the North. But now the war cloud was appearing over Scotland, and Wentworth imparted his views on that matter to the Earl of Northumberland in July, 1638, and it is very probable that they were laid before the King. He advised that the Scottish ports be blockaded and their shipping seized. He said :

"It may be asked how money shall be found to carry us through the least part of this. In good faith every man will give it, I hope, from his children upon such an extremity as this, when no less, verily, than all we have comes thus to the stake. In a word, we are, God be praised, rich and able, and in this case, it may be justly said, *Salus populi suprema lex*, and the King must not want our substance for the preservation of the whole."

The English forces moved forward and made that valorous march to Duncce Hill and that ignominious retreat from Duncce Hill, which will ever recall the nursery rhyme,

The King of France and forty thousand men
Marched up a hill,—and then marched down again!—

and the first war with Scotland was over, and the Pacification of Berwick begun.

Charles now turned with full reliance to the ablest man in his party. He wrote to Wentworth to come to England, but bade him be sure to conceal the cause. He wished, he said, to consult him on some military projects, but added: "I have much more, and indeed too much, to desire your counsel and attendance for some time, which I think not fit to express by letter more than this, the Scottish Covenant spreads too far." Wentworth replied with alacrity, expressing his willingness to go, but asked that power from His Majesty be sent for the administration of Irish affairs during his absence. He complained, too, of the gout, which had racked an exceedingly frail body with pain for several years past. Charles had every reason to solicit his counsels. His advice was always judicious. The great force and firmness of his personal character had impressed itself upon the government of Ireland, and he was fitted now both by his experience and his natural parts, to become the King's Prime-Minister. Greatly deterred by his gout, he reached London in November, 1639, and resumed his place in the Privy Council.

In January, 1640, he was created Earl of Strafford, invested with the Order of the Garter, and in place of the title of Lord Deputy of Ireland received that of Lord Lieutenant, which had not been used since the administration of Elizabeth's unhappy Earl of Essex. To this was also added at his request the Barony of Raby,—a peerage which the Vanes claimed as pertaining to their family by right, and they resented Strafford's assumption of the title with a revengeful bitterness which they afterwards displayed in his trial. He had made other enemies at Court. Holland "could not forget a sharp, sudden saying of his," says Clarendon "(I cannot," adds the historian quaintly, "call it counsel or advice) that the King would do well to cut off his (Holland's) head." The Earl of Essex, a friend of the late Lord Clanricarde whom Strafford had grievously of-

fended in Ireland, "was naturally enough disinclined to his person, his power, and his parts." The Duke of Hamilton had no love for him, and the whole Scottish nation hated him for the declaration he had procured in Ireland against their Covenant. Clarendon continues :

"So that he had reason to expect as hard measures from popular councils as he saw were like to be in request, as all these disadvantages would create towards him. And yet, no doubt, his confidence was so great in himself and in the form of justice (which he could not suspect would be so totally confounded) that he never apprehended a greater censure than a sequestration from all public employment in which, it is probable, he had abundant satiety ; and this confidence could not have proceeded (considering the full knowledge he had of his own judges) but from a proportionate stock of, and satisfaction in, his own innocence."

The Short Parliament was called, and Strafford made that hasty trip to Dublin to obtain from an Irish Parliament a vote of their "persons and estates," if necessary, to the King's cause. He also levied an army of eight thousand men to assist the King in the reduction of the Scotch rebellion, and was then struck down by an excruciating attack of his old malady. On his return he stopped at Chester, unable to travel farther ; and here the news was brought him that his own county of York had refused to furnish the King two hundred men for the garrison of Berwick. While the Privy Council were considering what satisfaction they should demand of the county authorities, Strafford wrote indignantly from his sick-bed to one of the Secretaries of State, expressing his astonishment that "the Council should think of any other satisfaction than sending for them up and laying them by the heels." The second Scotch war, and the events which led up to the assembling of the Long Parliament, have been already recounted ; and with this necessary sketch of Strafford's career, we approach its closing scenes.¹

The opening session of the Long Parliament was a loud outburst of complaint on behalf of the whole nation. The universal fear was that the liberties of the people were to be surrendered into the hands of the Pope ; and Strafford and Laud were

¹ Forster's *Statesmen of the Commonwealth ; Strafford's Letters and Despatches*, by Sir George Radcliffe, 2 vols., London, 1739 ; R. D. Traill's *Strafford* (1889). Rushworth's eighth volume is occupied solely with Strafford's history.

publicly execrated as the instigators of the unholy bargain. The Queen and her mother were urgently pressing the Pope for money and men, and an impregnable alliance might have been promoted could Charles but have turned Catholic. In this very moment of darkness, a popular marriage was arranged between Prince William of Orange and the young Princess Mary of England; but it was learned that a rash assertion had been made by the Queen to the Papal legate, that the Prince was to bring over twenty thousand men, that Strafford would be rescued from his impending fate, and that France and Ireland would actively co-operate in these measures.¹ It cannot be a matter of wonder, therefore, that the alarmed Commons set out to make a bloody sacrifice.

The Parliament met on the 3d of November. By the 6th, John Pym, pre-eminently the leader of the lower House, had carried a motion for inquiry into the alleged abuses in Ireland. Strafford's friends, in great perturbation of mind, pressed him to return to Ireland, but he scorned to fly. He did indeed prefer to remain in command of the army at York, a situation in which he could have defended himself and contended for his cherished principles of monarchy.² But with characteristic courage he sped to London, reaching the capital on the 10th; and on the 11th, at three in the afternoon, he hastened to his place in the House of Lords, prepared to charge treason against some of his enemies. He came too late! Almost at the moment of his arrival, Pym appeared with his committee at the bar of the House, and, reading a resolution from the Commons directing his impeachment, prayed their Lordships that he might be at once committed to prison. The haughty Earl, with a "proud, glooming countenance," was approaching his place, when a chorus of voices arose "bidding him void the House." So great was the clamour that he was barely accorded the right to speak. But he was not the man to be deterred by noise. He arose with dignity and earnestly pleaded for his release during the formulation of the charges against him, and

¹ Hosmer's *Young Sir Henry Vane*, p. 116.

² Whitelock, vol. i., p. 108.

reminded their Lordships what mischief they might bring on themselves if, upon a mere general accusation without the mention of any one crime, a Peer of the realm could be committed to prison and deprived of his place in that House where he was summoned by the King's writ to assist in their counsels. He then withdrew, and the Lords, terrified under the furious lash of the Commons, resolved to commit him to the custody of Black Rod, and he was forthwith restrained of his liberty. And now nothing could stop the Commons. On December 18th, Laud was arrested and lodged in the tower on the charge of high treason. Finch and Windebank, of the King's party, would have been impeached, but, warned in time, they fled the country. Christopher Wandesford, a trusted councillor of the Lord Lieutenant's, would have been assailed, but he was so shocked on learning the news of his master's arrest that he fell in a faint and expired. On March 22, 1641, nearly three months after his arrest, the trial of Strafford began. The number of the articles of impeachment had grown to ninety-eight, and embraced every act of his life and every expression of a fearless tongue which malice or the heat of party could torture into crime. The introduction was delivered by Pym, whose power of invective was never so well displayed, and who referred to Strafford, with melodramatic effect, as "the wicked Earl." The fallen Minister behaved himself with humility and submission, yet with great courage, never losing an advantage, and making a very dexterous defence. As the trial progressed, it was soon discerned by the watchful Commons that they would fail to prove high treason against him. This crime had been defined through all the jurisprudence of England as an act of hostility against the King's right or person; whereas the acts of arbitrary authority which made up the sum of the accusations against Strafford were at the worst only in contravention of that constitutional Government which up to this time had never been clearly defined. The general charge was an "endeavour to overthrow the fundamental laws of the Government and to introduce an arbitrary power." No one of the articles of impeachment would sustain this charge. At this moment

there was injected into the prosecution an ingenious and plausible but dangerous theory, that as high treason was not proved by any single article, yet the evidence supporting all of the articles was sufficiently strong to make conviction on the general charge; and this was to be done under a process by which each article was strengthened and supported by the others, thus making a sort of cumulative high treason out of the whole. Strafford tore the mask from this specious theory by demanding: "When one thousand misdemeanours will not make one felony, shall twenty-eight misdemeanours heighten it to a treason?"¹

It likewise became necessary in this proceeding "to make one witness, with divers circumstances, as good as two." The Elder Sir Henry Vane, still smarting under the loss of the ancient Barony of Raby, had appeared as a witness against Strafford, and betrayed the secrets of the Privy Council by testifying that Strafford had advised the King to employ the Irish army for the subjugation of England. "You must," he was alleged to have said, "prosecute the war vigorously; you have an army in Ireland with which you may reduce this kingdom."² Strafford denied that he had used the words, but with his usual adroitness pointed out that, even if they had been used, the Committee was then sitting as a Committee for Scotch Affairs, and the Court was invited to adopt the reasonable conclusion that the "war" which was to be prosecuted vigorously was the Scotch war, and that "this kingdom" which was to be reduced was the kingdom of Scotland. There were four other councillors present at the time the words were said to have been used, Northumberland, Hamilton, Cottington, and Juxon, who all declared on oath—while recollecting all the rest of Strafford's language as reported by Vane—that they had heard nothing about the army in Ireland or the threatened reduction of England. With Vane asserting, Strafford denying, and the other four not remembering the treasonable words, the legal inference was in Strafford's favour.

¹ Rushworth, vol. viii., p. 145.

² *Ibid.*, vol. viii., p. 549.

But the managers of the prosecution were equal to the emergency. Pym arose and informed the House that he was responsible for the insertion of that charge against Strafford. He then proceeded to make a most remarkable disclosure. Some months before he had called to visit young Sir Harry Vane, who was just recovering from an attack of ague. Sir Harry seemed troubled about the state of the kingdom, and referred with suppressed horror to a mysterious paper which he had found while making a clandestine search through his father's cabinet. This paper was a minute of a part of the proceedings of the Privy Council, taken down by the elder Sir Henry, and contained these words as coming from Strafford: "Absolved from the rules of Government; prosecute the war vigorously; an army in Ireland to subdue this kingdom." After much pressure young Sir Harry permitted Pym to take a copy of the document, the original being then returned to the cabinet, and afterwards destroyed by the elder Vane. Mr. Pym said:

"Though there was but one witness in the point, Sir Henry Vane the Secretary, whose handwriting that paper was, whereof this was a copy, yet he conceived those circumstances of his and young Sir Henry Vane's having seen those original results, and being ready to swear that the paper read by him was a true copy of the other, might reasonably amount to the validity of another witness."

Young Sir Harry rose and with an apparent shame corroborated Pym's statement. He was conscious, he said, that this discovery would prove little less than ruinous in the good opinion of his father; but having been drawn by a tender conscience towards the common parent, his country, to trespass against his natural father, he hoped he should find compassion from that House, though he had little hopes of pardon elsewhere.

Then the elder Vane, "with a pretty confusion," played his part in this picturesque incident. He had been much amazed, he said, when he found himself pressed by such interrogatories as made him suspect some discoveries to be made by some person as conversant in the councils as himself, but he was now satisfied to whom he owed his misfortunes; in which he was sure the guilty person should bear his share.

Clarendon says :

"This scene was so well acted, with such passion and gestures, between the father and son, that many speeches were made in commendation of the conscience, integrity, and merit of the young man, and a motion made 'that the father might be enjoined by the House to be friends with his son,' But for some time there was, in public, a great distance observed between them."¹

After seventeen days spent in the trial the arguments began. Strafford presented his own defence with skill and eloquence. The Lords appointed attorneys to assist him in points of law, a privilege accorded to the meanest criminal, but for which they were churlishly rebuked by the Commons. The Earl, in that touching peroration to his final speech, said :

"My Lords, I have now troubled your Lordships a great deal longer than I should have done. Were it not for the interest of these pledges that a saint in Heaven left me, I should be loth, my Lords—[Here he paused for a moment, overcome by his emotion, and then, leaving the sentence unfinished, continued.]—What I forfeit for myself it is nothing. But I confess that my indiscretion should forfeit for them, it wounds me very deeply. You will be pleased to pardon my infirmity ; something I should have said, but I see I shall not be able, and therefore I will leave it. And now, my Lords, I thank God I have been, by his good blessing towards me, taught that the afflictions of the present life are not to be compared with that eternal weight of glory that shall be revealed hereafter. And so, my Lords, even so, with all humility and with all tranquillity of mind, I do submit myself clearly and freely unto your judgment, whether that righteous judgment shall be to life or death. *Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur.*"²

The prosecution wavered. The House of Lords inquired of the judges whether some of the articles amounted to treason, and the judges answered unanimously that upon all which their Lordships had voted to be proved, it was their opinion the Earl of Strafford did deserve to undergo the pains and penalties of high treason by law.³ This decision merely placed upon the Lords the responsibility of declaring whether the charges had been sustained by the evidence.

¹ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 342.

² Rushworth, vol. viii., p. 660.

³ Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, vol. i., p. 510 ; Forster's *Statesmen*, p. 127. This important incident is not mentioned by Clarendon, or Hume, and some other historians, although it is a matter of record in the *Lords Journals* and *Parliamentary History*.

But before the opinion was taken, the Commons, fearful that their culprit would escape, resolved to make that a crime by *ex-post-facto* law which could not under the existing statutes be capitally punished. A bill of attainder was passed in the lower House, immediately followed by a bill exempting Strafford's children from the penalties of forfeiture and corruption of blood—an act of generosity which was startling in that moment of passion. The attainder carried its own condemnation in one of its articles, which prohibited the judges from construing it as a precedent. The Lords hesitated. Their sympathies were with Strafford, but the fifty-nine members of the Commons who had voted against the bill of attainder had since been treated with so much open contempt that their Lordships, fearful of the popular wrath, passed the bill by a vote of twenty-six to nineteen, those who could find a sufficient excuse remaining away. Strafford, with a tongue of prophecy, protested against the sacrifice of his life lest such inconveniences and miseries should follow within a few years as that no man should know what to do, or what to say.¹

In the meantime, the frightened Monarch found his heart tossed between the emotions of hope and despair. On April 23d, two days after the bill passed the Commons, he wrote to Strafford assuring him on that much abused "word of a King," that, though the "misfortune that had fallen upon him" made it impossible that he could be employed hereafter in the royal affairs, he should not "suffer in life, honour, or fortune." On May 1st, the King went down to the House of Lords in state, and informed the Parliament in a dignified and courageous speech that he could not consider Strafford to have been guilty of high treason, and, denying explicitly Vane's army story, suggested that Strafford should be punished only for misdemeanour.² This interference of the King brought forth a furious protest from the Commons in behalf of the privilege of Parliament; and it was this uproar which forced from the Lords an unwilling assent to the attainder.

¹ Rushworth, vol. viii., p. 660.

² *Ibid.*, vol. viii., p. 734.

The mobs now surrounded the King's palace, and cried out for Strafford's blood. Charles, in terror, summoned the Bishops and acquainted them with his promise to Strafford. The assurance of protection had been most solemn; but panic had seized upon the royal household, and the only calm man in England probably was Strafford himself. That chivalrous gentleman wrote to Charles releasing him from his obligation. "To say, Sir," he said, "that there hath not been a strife in me, were to make me less man than, God knoweth, my infirmities make me; and to call a destruction upon myself and my young children (where the intentions of my heart at least have been innocent of this great offence) may be believed will find no easy consent from flesh and blood." Concluding in a strain of loftiest magnanimity, he said:

"So now, to set your Majesty's conscience at liberty, I do most humbly beseech Your Majesty, *for prevention of evils which may happen by your refusal*, to pass this bill, and by this means to remove, praised be God (I cannot say this accursed, but, I confess), this unfortunate thing forth of the way towards that blessed agreement which God, I trust, shall ever establish between you and your subjects. Sir, my consent shall more acquit you herein to God than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury done. And as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul, so, Sir, to you I can give the life of this world, with all the cheerfulness imaginable, in the just acknowledgment of your exceeding favours."¹

This letter cleared the way for the Bishops to advise his Majesty—with the honourable exception of Juxon—that a King had two consciences, one public, the other private; and that "his public conscience as a King might not only dispense with, but oblige him to do, that which was against his conscience as a man." Under this specious reasoning the King, coquetting still further with his conscience, appointed a commissioner to sign the bill, and on Monday, May 10th, it became law.

On the next day the wretched Monarch made an effort to secure clemency. Fearful now of exercising that boasted prerogative by granting Strafford a pardon, as he had a full constitutional right to do, he despatched a message to the House

¹ Rushworth, vol. viii., p. 743.

of Lords by the hand of the youthful Prince of Wales, beseeching them to use their offices in securing from the Commons their approval to the pardon. After making a dignified and pathetic statement of the quality of mercy, and expressing a desire that Strafford might live out the natural course of his life in a close imprisonment, he hastily added, as if afraid of turning their wrath upon himself: "But if no less than his life can satisfy my people, I must say, *fiat justitia*." Then in a postscript which destroyed the force of it all, he wrote: "*If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him until Saturday.*"¹ When Strafford received the news of the King's assent to the bill of attainder, the treachery with which he had been sacrificed wrung from his lips the Scriptural words: "Put not your trust in princes, for in them there is no help!"

On Wednesday, May 12, 1641, Strafford was conducted to Tower Hill. As he passed the cell where Archbishop Laud was confined, that aged prelate stood at the window, and with choking voice sent forth a feeble blessing, the Earl kneeling reverently to receive it. He then walked on with the courage of a conqueror. When he had mounted the scaffold Strafford turned to the multitude who had lately howled for his blood, but were now hushed in the presence of impending death. Addressing them with an air of calm fortitude, he protested his innocence of high treason, and proclaimed his steadfast adherence to the Protestant faith. But it augured ill, he told them, for the people's happiness, to write the commencement of a reformation in letters of blood. He implored them, "for Christian charity's sake," to believe him that he had always thought Parliaments in England to be the happy constitution of the kingdom and nation. He charged his eldest son to avoid ambition, and to seek no higher preferment than Justice of the Peace in his own county. The executioner approached, and, according to an ancient custom, entreated his forgiveness, which was freely given. Strafford joined for a few moments in prayer with Archbishop Ussher, and, after bidding farewell to those of his kinsmen who were on the scaffold, he knelt before the block and received the headsman's blow.

¹ Rushworth, vol. viii., p. 757.

When Strafford fell, the theory of absolute monarchy fell also. He was cast in an heroic mould, and with another master he might have made England great, as Cromwell afterwards made her great. But the times were out of joint; Charles was not equal to the task of enforcing his own principles in the Government; and when the Commons pursued Strafford to the foot of the throne as a scapegoat for all the oppressions of this reign, the wretched Monarch pusillanimously permitted the destruction of the only man who could possibly have preserved his Crown for him against the rising tide of rebellion. If Strafford had lived—if his frail health had been spared—history might have recorded different results at Marston Moor and Naseby. English liberty might have been set back for a hundred years. Who can tell?





CHAPTER IX.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT FOR POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

Hampden's Prophecy Concerning Cromwell—Warwick's Description of him—His Altercation with Clarendon—Cromwell as a Speaker—His Interest in Religion Paramount—A Counsellor to his Party—Notable Strength of his Family in the House—Parliament Attempts to Alter the Constitution—Charles Remits his Right to Dissolve Parliament—The Commons Attack the Temporal Power of the Episcopal Church—Formation of Parties—The Pope Aims to Convert Charles—The Army Plots—Milton Joins the Controversy—Charles Considers the Appointment of a Popular Ministry—Star Chamber Abolished—The King Stripped of his Prerogative—He Departs for Scotland—The English Army is Disbanded—The Scottish Army Quits England—The Parliament Alters Religious Practices—It Adjourns—A Revolution Already Accomplished.

"**P**RAY, Mr. Hampden," cried Lord Digby, overtaking the great Commoner one day as he was leaving Parliament House, "who is that man—that sloven who spoke just now?" Hampden, turning round and perceiving that his kinsman, Oliver Cromwell, was the object of this animadversion, gazed calmly at his interrogator while he answered in the memorable and prophetic words: "That sloven whom you see before you hath no ornament in his speech; that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the King, which God forbid!—in such a case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England."

The grave Royalist, Sir Philip Warwick, writes this famous description of Cromwell:

"The first time that ever I took notice of him was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman; for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes. I came

one morning into the House well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking (whom I knew not) very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor ; his linen was plain and not very clean ; and I remember a speck or two of blood¹ upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar ; his hat was without a hatband, his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervor, for the subject-matter would not bear much of reason, it being in behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's, who had disbursed libels against the Queen for her dancing, and such like innocent and courtly sports ; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the Council table unto that height, that one would have believed the very Government itself had been in great danger by it. I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence unto that great Council, for he was very much hearkened unto. And yet I lived to see this very gentleman, whom out of no ill-will to him I thus describe, by multiplied good successes, and by real, but usurped power (having had a better tailor and more converse among good company), in my own eye, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his Sergeant's hands and daily waited at Whitehall, appear of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence. Of him, therefore, I will say no more, but that verily I believe he was extraordinarily designed for those extraordinary things which one while most wickedly and facinorously he acted, and at another as successfully and greatly performed."²

There is another reference to Cromwell in which his deep passion for social justice is unconsciously illuminated. It was in the early days of the Long Parliament, when Clarendon, speaking of himself as Mr. Hyde, wrote :

" Mr. Hyde was often heard to mention one private committee, in which he was put accidentally into the chair ; upon an Enclosure which had been made of great wastes, belonging to the Queen's Manors, without the consent of the tenants, the benefit whereof had been given by the Queen to a servant of her near trust, who forthwith sold the lands enclosed to the Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal ; who together with his son Mandevil were now most concerned to maintain the Enclosure ; against which, as well the inhabitants of other manors, who claimed common in those wastes, as the Queen's tenants of the same, made loud complaints, as a great oppression, carried upon them with a very high hand, and supported by power.

" The Committee sat in the Queen's Court ; and Oliver Cromwell being one of them, appeared much concerned to countenance the Petitioners, who were numerous together with their Witnesses ; the Lord Mandevil being likewise present as a party, and by the direction of the Committee sitting covered. Cromwell, who had never before been heard to speak in the House of Commons [at least not by Mr. Hyde, though he had spoken there], ordered the Witnesses and Petitioners in the method of the proceeding ; and seconded, and enlarged upon what they said, with

¹ The blood may have been due to a hasty shave that morning.

² *Warwick*, p. 273.

great passion ; and the Witnesses and persons concerned, who were a very rude kind of people, interrupted the Counsel and Witnesses on the other side, with great clamour, when they said anything that did not please them ; so that Mr. Hyde (whose office it was to oblige men of all sorts to keep order) was compelled to use some sharp reproofs, and some threats, to reduce them to such a temper that the business might be quietly heard. Cromwell, in great fury, reproached the Chairman for being partial, and that he discountenanced the Witnesses by threatening them : the other appealed to the Committee ; which justified him, and declared that he behaved himself as he ought to do ; which more inflamed him [Cromwell], who was already too much angry. When upon any mention of matter-of-fact, or of the proceeding before and at the Enclosure the Lord Mandevil desired to be heard, and with great modesty related what had been done, or explained what had been said, Mr. Cromwell did answer, and reply upon him with so much indecency and rudeness, and in language so contrary and offensive, that every man would have thought, that as their natures and their manners were as opposite as it is possible, so their interests could never have been the same. In the end his whole carriage was so tempestuous, and his behaving so insolent, that the Chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him : and to tell him, that if he [Cromwell] proceeded in the same manner, he [Hyde] would presently adjourn the Committee, and the next morning complain to the House of him. Which he never forgave ; and took all occasions afterward to pursue him with the utmost malice and revenge, to his [Cromwell's] death."¹

But it was not Cromwell's destiny to rise to any great height as a Parliamentary leader. He was not a popular speaker, and his tongue could not command the ready wit nor control itself by the equable patience of a successful debater. His heart seems to have been stirred more by the religious side of the quarrel between the King and the Parliament than by the political side ; and the great danger to the Protestant faith which he, in common with all the other Puritans, beheld in the extreme Episcopalianism of Laud's unbridled administration, incited him, as it did them, to a resistance which finally brought both parties to armed combat. Cromwell was an active force in the private counsels of his party in the Long Parliament, but he was not sufficiently prominent in their public proceedings, even after the session had lasted fourteen months, to make himself personally obnoxious to the King, else we may conclude that he would have been named with the five mem-

¹*Life of Clarendon*, vol. i., p. 61. The last sentence of the quotation is emphatic, but not accurate.

bers in whose attempted arrest Charles sought to save his perishing Majesty.

It has been suggested that the Long Parliament was, in part, a league of families confederated for the purpose of restraining the power of the Crown. In tracing this theory through the roll of membership it is curious to discover the remarkable prominence of Cromwell's family interest. Pym and Vane stood almost alone in this respect, but Cromwell was related in the ties which men call family to no less than thirty-one of the members of the House of Commons. To set forth the details of this relationship would occupy more space, perhaps, than the reader would patiently approve. But we find that, either through the ties of blood, or the marriage of his immediate relatives, Cromwell held kinship with John Hampden, Oliver St. John, Edmund Dunch, Sir Thomas Barrington, Edmund Waller, Sir Richard Knightley, Sir Robert Pye, Sir John Trevor, Valentine Walton, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir William Masham, Francis Gerrard, Thomas Trevor, Sir Oliver Luke, Sir Samuel Luke, Humphrey Salwey, (perhaps) Henry Marten, Sir Francis Russell, Richard Norton, Nathaniel, James, and John Fiennes, Sir John Barrington, Sir John Bouchier, William Masham, John Trevor, John Jones, Thomas Waller, Richard Ingoldsby, Henry Ireton, and Richard Salwey. This made thirty-one votes, although, as some of them were elected on account of the death or defection of others, they did not all sit at one time. The connecting family line is sometimes indistinct, but in the larger part of the names it is indisputable. On the other hand, Pym was related possibly to Bradshaw, and, perhaps, to Milton, who was, however, unknown in the zenith of the Civil War. Denzil Hollis, the leader of the Presbyterians, was Strafford's brother-in-law, but Strafford was an impediment to any Puritan. Sir Harry Vane belonged to a powerful family, of whom we recognise, however, only his father and the Pelhams in the House. No one of these men had around him the family strength in the Parliament which supported Hampden, and, afterwards, until he went beyond them, Cromwell. Yet, despite this stupendous array of kin, it is clear that Crom-

well's rise was wholly due to his own ability, as his public position was insignificant until he stood illustrious, but alone, as the only successful soldier on the Puritan side.¹

The Long Parliament was endeavouring to accomplish a revolution by Parliamentary methods. While they never wavered in their resolution to strip the Crown of every vestige of its ancient individual power, they advanced step by step under the forms of reverence and duty, and, had Charles consented at the last moment—even after he had raised the standard of civil war at Nottingham—to a Government through ministers chosen with the consent of Parliament, all that vast sacrifice of blood and treasure which ensued would have been saved.

There were some bright spots on the troubled sky. On the 19th of April, 1641, Prince William of Orange arrived to claim the heart and hand of the King's eldest daughter, the Princess Mary, and the Protestant nation hailed the match with every sound of joy. But even while the glad bells were pealing forth the happiness of the event, there were those who said that the Dutch Prince had brought with him the sum of 1,200,000 ducats to relieve the pressing necessities of his future father-in-law.² This cannot be established as a fact, but it is clear that Charles was at that time put in possession of funds which were sent to York to pay his army and hold their wavering loyalty. He expected to be successful in this, as the Parliament had provoked the soldiers to anger by paying to the Scottish troops, still encamped on the English soil, the sum of £10,000, which had been levied for the pay of the English army.

The same tumultuous outcry which had impelled the King, in a moment of extreme terror, to sign the bill for the execution of the Earl of Strafford, had likewise coerced him to sign a bill inhibiting the dissolution of the present Parliament except with its own consent. The importance of this measure in the interest

¹ There is an admirable unravelling of this relationship in an article entitled, "Oliver Cromwell's Kinsfolk," by Stanley J. Weyman, in the *English Historical Review* for January, 1891, p. 48. His present posterity is referred to in Frederic Harrison's *Cromwell*, p. 34.

² Gardiner, *History of England*, London, Longmans, Green, & Co., 10 vols., vol. ix., p. 342.

of the nation—for now the apparent interest of the nation was distinctly opposed to the apparent interest of Charles,—is shown by a remark made by the Marquis of Dorset at that time to the King. “I may live to do you a kindness,” said Dorset, “but you can do me none.”

The Commons, having thus struck a deadly blow at the royal prerogative, now devised an equally effective measure against the Established Church. A bill was passed excluding the Bishops from the House of Lords and cutting off the power of the Church in civil affairs. The discussion on this bill gave rise to the formation of parties in the modern Parliamentary sense. Those members of the House of Commons who were in favour of destroying the political power of the Episcopal Church, as it rested in the Bishops and the Clergy, become known as the Root-and-Branch party; while those who favoured the preservation of Episcopalianism as the established worship and aimed only to curtail the imitations of the Roman Catholic forms which had evoked the cry of Popery against Laud, were called Episcopalians. Between these two parties, Pym and Hampden and their supporters, like accomplished politicians, held the balance of power.

The Bishops' Exclusion Bill was rejected by the Lords, which inspired Young Sir Henry Vane and Oliver Cromwell to devise a bill for the complete extinction of Episcopacy. But at the present time such a measure could not be passed.¹

¹ The Puritans did not have it all their own way. Among the many petitions sent in praying for protection for the established worship was one from Cheshire, in which it was ably said: “We cannot but express our just fears, that their desire is to introduce an absolute innovation of Presbyterian government, whereby we, who are now governed by the canon and civil laws, dispensed by twenty-six ordinaries—easily responsible to Parliament for any deviation from the rule of law—conceive we should become exposed to the mere arbitrary government of a numerous Presbytery who, together with their ruling elders, will arise to near forty thousand Church governors, and with their adherents must needs bear so great a sway in the Commonwealth that, if future inconvenience shall be found in that Government, we humbly offer to consideration how these shall be reducible by Parliaments, how consistent with a monarchy, and how dangerously conducive to anarchy, which we have just cause to pray against, as fearing the consequences would prove the utter loss of learning and laws, which must necessarily produce an extermination of nobility, gentry, and order, if not of religion.”

Pope Urban VIII. thought he saw an opportunity now to rekindle the extinguished flame of the ancient religion in the breast of the English nation, and his Ambassador, early in June, called on the Queen to learn whether any success rewarded her cherished labour of making the King a Catholic.¹ She then admitted the impossibility of inducing Charles to change his religion, but said if the Pope would send over £150,000 he would grant religious liberty in Ireland, and for the present would allow the Catholics in England to worship in the chapels of the Queen, and of foreign Ambassadors. After reducing his subjects to obedience, the Catholics should have full religious liberty, with permission to open chapels of their own. Every religion but those of Rome and the Established Church should be abolished. Speaking of some recent hostile legislation she betrayed the King's insincerity and her own by saying that, according to the law of England, what was granted by a King under compulsion was null and void. These promises she offered to put in writing for the Pope, and engaged to obtain Charles's counter-signature to her letter.

On the 8th of June a report was made to the Commons on a plot in which the Army was to have been used during Strafford's last days, conniving at that doomed nobleman's escape, and the statements of the witnesses made it only too clear that the King had himself possessed knowledge of the conspiracy. Indeed it was now, when Charles was being hemmed in on every side, that the weakness of his character led him into rash enterprises which have left the stigma of duplicity upon his fame. The discovery of this first Army plot—there were two—threw the House into the liveliest tumult. An officer named Billingsley had received instructions from the Court, with a pass from the King, to enter the Tower with one hundred men. Sir William Balfour, the Lieutenant of the Tower, a brusque Scotsman, refused to admit the armed band, and that was all there was to it so far as Strafford's release was concerned. A Colonel Goring had, however, engaged to incite the officers of the Army in Yorkshire to espouse the King's cause ;

¹ Rosetti's Despatch, Gardiner, vol. ix., p. 384.

Goring himself was to hold the fortifications of Portsmouth for the King, and the Queen was to embark there for France, taking her children with her. Digby and Wilmot, who were concerned in the plot, were in the House at the time the report was read, and they attempted to withdraw. Others sought to stop them. A riot ensued, and Speaker Lenthall confessed next morning that he had not expected to come away alive. It soon appeared, from a vote clearing Goring of dishonour, that that treacherous officer had betrayed the plot to Pym, who had caused it to be brought before the House. The next morning it was proposed to discipline Digby, but the King had already put him beyond the vengeance of the House by making him a Peer of the realm.

It was in this month of June that a new champion arose among the Puritans. John Milton threw aside the poet's lyre for the patriot's pen, and brought all the great wealth of his learning and eloquence to bear upon the controversy of Presbyterianism against Episcopalianism, his pamphlet adding much to the flame of the present situation.

Within a few days Charles was concocting another Army plot. This time the object was to purchase the neutrality of the invading Scottish army and move the northern English Army down to London for the purpose of overawing the Parliament. This, like the other, came to nothing except that its disclosure before the House of Commons a few months later only increased the popular distrust of the King.

On June 22d a tonnage and poundage bill was passed, granting to Charles, for a period of three weeks only, the revenues of the customs, and in this law the King bound himself forever to levy no customs duties except by consent of Parliament. And yet they would trust him no longer with these revenues than three weeks.¹

On June 24th Pym sent up to the Lords ten propositions which had unanimously passed the Commons, and to which he invited the counsel and co-operation of the Peers. These propositions asked that the armies might be disbanded as

¹ Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 297.

soon as money could be provided ; that the King's proposed journey to Scotland might be delayed, and that His Majesty would remove any evil counsellors about his person and commit " his own business and the affairs of the kingdom to such counsellors and officers as the Parliament may have cause to confide in." The articles called for the removal of Catholics from Court, and from attendance on the Queen ; for the expulsion of Rosetti, the Pope's Ambassador ; for the placing of the military and naval forces in safe hands ; for the granting of a general pardon ; and, finally, for the appointment of a committee of the two Houses " for the reducing of these propositions to effect for the public good." ¹

The Lords softened the article bearing on the Queen's attendants so as to spare that lady's feelings as much as possible, and adopted the series of propositions, thus giving the sanction of a united Parliament to a scheme for the reform of the Government which provided for the complete destruction of the royal prerogative.

This measure, offensive to the King's dignity as it must have been, afforded him a golden opportunity for securing tranquillity for his people, a lawful government for his kingdoms, and popularity for himself. But he preferred to follow the vacillating policy which finally destroyed him. He granted a part of the demands of his people, but impaired the effect of graciousness by withholding the rest. He consented to the disbandment of the Army and to the dismissal of Rosetti ; but he ignored the request for a Parliamentary ministry, and he informed the Earl of Bath in a blaze of anger that he knew of no evil counsellors about his person.

Charles had already, in the preceding February, made an attempt to conciliate Parliament by taking a step in the direction of popular government. This consisted in the appointment of seven opposition Lords as Privy Councillors—Bristol, Bedford, Essex, Hertford, Saye, Mandeville, and Saville. But a Privy Councillor at Whitehall had little or nothing to do with the administration of the Government. The rumor had been

¹ Gardiner, vol. ix., p. 401.

circulated in February, in April, and again in July, that the King would appoint the Puritans to office. Pym was to have been Chancellor of the Exchequer; Hampden, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Hollis or Mandeville, Secretary of State; Bedford, Lord Treasurer; Brooke, Privy Councillor; and Saye, Master of the Wards¹; but while the King doubtless reflected on these promotions, he lacked the courage to anticipate necessity by making the appointments.

The Parliamentary destruction of the prerogative went on with startling rapidity. On July 3d the King was constrained to sign the Poll-Tax Bill. On the 5th he assented to the abolition of his cherished courts of Star Chamber and High Commission—courts whose arbitrary judgments had confirmed the prerogative in its most flourishing vigour. The Council of the North, of which Strafford had been the able President, was voted down. The Council of Wales, of arbitrary powers, was annulled, and this was the last of those extraordinary courts which had come into the hands of the Stuart Kings from the Tudors. The King's powers must now be exercised through the courts created by acts of Parliament. If that were not enough, he could be brought to terms by the Commons stopping the supplies. This method had, indeed, in spite of all the machinery of the prerogative, reduced him to extremity. It might fail for a time if the King resorted to violent methods. But he had already resorted to violent methods and they had proved inadequate to his necessities. The King had come to the end of the resources of his absolutism; his resources were exhausted, his absolutism was confined within Parliamentary bounds.

Charles made one more effort to win popular favour. The occupation of the Palatinate by a Protestant ruler was a deep-seated desire of the English people. Prince Frederick, who had married Charles's sister, was dead. His eldest son, Charles Lewis, was now in England seeking military assistance. The person and address of this Prince so favourably impressed the English people that there were those bold enough to whisper

¹ Gardiner, vol. ix., pp. 340, 409, 413.

that if it became necessary to dethrone the reigning King, Charles Lewis might worthily wear the English Crown. Some vain idea of this kind doubtless filled the young Prince's mind, and when the Civil War began he adroitly absented himself from England, leaving his younger brothers, Rupert and Maurice, to win a renown in arms which was forever lost to him. But Charles had received as yet no cause to doubt the young man's affections, and he was himself extremely desirous of seeing Charles Lewis on the throne of Bohemia. He therefore issued a manifesto in favour of Charles Lewis as King of Bohemia, and asked Parliament to supply the Prince with the means to win back his father's inheritance. The Houses listened respectfully and returned a decorous reply, but voted no money. It was too late to succour Bohemia.

The King was determined, contrary to the advice of his Parliament, to proceed on his journey to Scotland; and Henrietta Maria, now an object of the people's hatred, was not willing to remain near the Parliament in his absence. She had at first proposed a visit to France, but Richelieu, ever watchful of events, had dissuaded her from that purpose. A trip to Spa was then suggested. It was said that the fair Queen was falling into a consumption, and that the curative waters would be beneficial to her health. She would take advantage of the opportunity, she said, to escort her daughter to the Prince of Orange. But the Parliament feared that she meant to carry with her the Crown jewels and plate, and they prevented her departure.

The object of Charles's visit to his Scottish subjects, who had even now an armed host in England in subversion of his authority, is not easily understood except when we view the hopelessness of his situation in England. But it seems clear, when viewed from this standpoint, that Charles hoped to gain a party in Scotland that would apply a salve to his bleeding honour in England. The Duke of Argyle and the Duke of Montrose, the two most powerful of the Scottish nobility, were at mortal enmity. In the first Bishops' war Montrose had taken arms for the Covenant, but the dissensions among the

noble houses of Scotland had brought him over to the King. He had recently written Charles a letter, setting forth his political principles in terms which had completely captivated that Monarch. In this epistle he asserted that sovereign power must exist in every State. It might be placed, according to the circumstances of each country, in the hands of a democracy, an aristocracy, or a monarchy. In Scotland it must be entrusted to a monarchy. The nobles were incapable of sacrificing their private interests to the public good. The people were too easily led astray to offer a secure foundation for a stable government. Let the King, therefore, come in person to Scotland to preside over the coming Parliament. Let him freely grant to his subjects the exercise of their religion and their just liberties. Let him be ready to consult Parliaments frequently in order to learn the wants of his people, and win his subjects' hearts by ruling them with wisdom and moderation.¹

It was the possibility of reaping an advantage from this invitation which at first seriously drew Charles's attention to the desirability of a progress to Scotland. But it was not in his nature to go as a King in distress, ready to trust to the sympathy and loyalty of his subjects. Modern research has disclosed in the archives of Venice a motive for this visit, which we may well believe would have caused an explosion had it been known to the Long Parliament at the time of his departure. The Venetian Ambassador writes to his Government on July 30, 1642, that the Queen had informed him that she intended to remove a hundred miles from London when the King went north, in order that she might not be exposed "to those dangers which will be inevitable when the King resolves to return to this realm, accompanied by the Scottish army and by the English troops at York."² While the Parliament was not acquainted with this intention of the King's, it believed him to be capable of compassing such an undertaking.

¹ Gardiner, vol. ix., p. 396. *Montrose and the Covenanters*, by Mark Napier, London, 1838, 2 vols., vol. ii., p. 43.

² Gardiner, vol. ix., p. 410.

On Saturday, August 7th, Charles announced that he would depart for Scotland on the following Monday, and the House instantly implored him to defer his journey. On that day he signed two important bills, one in relation to ship-money, the other limiting the forest boundaries, and both restricting his own expiring powers. On Saturday night the Commons held a stormy session. It was even said on the floor of the House, though not publicly, that the King had forfeited his Crown.¹ The extremity of their terror may be seen in the session which was held next day, by which the consciences of those sturdy Puritans were put to sleep while the debate was carried on during Sunday. The House appealed to the Scottish Commissioners to counsel delay in the King's departure. Charles sent another message to the Commissioners begging them to do nothing of the kind, and the good understanding that existed between the King and themselves was shown in their reply, that they would risk their lives to restore him to his authority. He waited over until Tuesday to make some promotions among his adherents. Bristol, the now aged rival of Buckingham in the affair of the Spanish match, was made a Gentleman of the Bedchamber. Bristol's son, the brilliant Lord Digby, was appointed Ambassador to France. The Earl of Lenox, now on friendly terms with the King, was made Duke of Richmond. To preserve a balance in these promotions, the Lords asked that two Peers of their own selection, Salisbury and Pembroke, might be appointed to office, but the King was in no humour to grant them favours, and he declined their request. A crowd of apprentices, as in the time of Strafford's trial, assembled at Westminster, but the King's spirit was proof against the mob, and he said that he would make anyone repent it who laid hands on his horse's reins to stop him. His last official acts were to sign the Treaty of Peace with Scotland, and give his assent to a bill securing the payment of £220,000 to the Scottish army as soon as they should have passed beyond the Tweed. As the King and his royal retinue disappeared, the Scottish Commissioners turned to say that their nation

¹ Giustinian's despatch to the Doge, Gardiner, vol. ix., p. 415.

would do all in its power to place the King in his authority again, and that, when he appeared in Scotland, all political differences would be at an end, and they would serve their natural Prince as one man.

And Charles had left England without a Government. No provision had been made to pass bills, except a few which should receive the royal assent through a commission appointed for that purpose. In this juncture of affairs the Parliament adopted a bold expedient. Sir Symonds D'Ewes, the best informed man on Parliamentary precedents in that distinguished body, cited an ordinance that had been passed in 1373, and suggested that an ordinance of the two Houses in Parliament had always been of great authority.¹ The Commons quickly adopted the idea and passed an ordinance (August 20th), which was sent to the Lords and passed by them. This first ordinance provided for the appointment of a commission to wait upon the King in Scotland, ostensibly to observe the progress of a further treaty, but really to keep a watch upon the mistrusted Monarch. John Hampden was a member of this commission.

The English Army was disbanded as fast as it could be paid off, and, on September 25th, General Leslie led his Scottish forces across the Tweed. The Parliament could now breathe freely, and it is certain that a better sentiment began to prevail towards the King, who might now have returned to London with peace and security. At that very moment, however, Charles was writing to the Queen that by promises of promotion he had won over certain powerful Scots who had hitherto opposed him bitterly, and that he could rely upon the aid of four thousand foot and one thousand horse whenever he might demand them. He was at the same time writing to the Duke of Ormond in Ireland for Irish assistance, thus presenting the odd spectacle of an Episcopalian Monarch effecting a coalition between the Scottish Presbyterians and the Irish Catholics for the subjugation of the English Puritans.

¹ Prof. Gardiner declares that the Ordinance of 1373 had been made by the King and merely announced to the Parliament.

By this time the plague and the small-pox were raging in London and Westminster, and the members of the two Houses, worn out by the severe experiences of the past ten months, determined to seek a short and necessary rest. Most of them had already gone home without leave, there being about eighty of the Commons and less than a score of the Lords in attendance at the present sittings. On August 28th, when all danger had disappeared from the North, the 8th of September was fixed for the adjournment, and October 20th for the reassembling.

As soon as the adjournment had been decided upon there were certain members of the Commons whose consciences reproached them for the failure of the House to do anything for religion. The apprehension of Popery had long been the nightmare of the Puritans, and the tyrannical innovations of Laud in the forms of the Established Church had aroused in their minds a suspicion that that Church was the Roman worship in a thin disguise. The Catholics were now undergoing punishment for their adherence to the ancient dogmas by the merciless enforcement of cruel statutes, while the unhappy Laud was languishing in prison, destined ere long to suffer death for his rash zeal. But this was not enough. It was determined that the communion tables should be removed from the east end of the churches, and the rails taken down; that "all crucifixes, scandalous pictures of one or more persons of the Trinity, and all images of the Virgin Mary" should be taken away, and "all tapers, candlesticks, and basins be removed from the communion table"; that "all corporal bowing at the name of Jesus or towards the east end of the church, or towards the communion table, be henceforth foreborne"; that all dancing and sports be forborne on Sunday, and the preaching of sermons be permitted in the afternoon. If the Puritans in the House had stopped here they might have carried their measure. But an unknown member suggested that it would be well to think of some alterations in the *Book of Common Prayer*. This roused the Episcopalians who had previously fought the Root-and-Branch Bill. The party spirit was carried further than ever before. Culpepper instantly demanded by resolution that

the House provide a punishment for any person who would attack or villify that venerable collection of human supplications. Oliver Cromwell retorted that there were passages in the *Prayer Book* to which grave and learned divines could not submit. The House was thin. In a vote of ninety-two the *Prayer Book* was sustained by a majority of eighteen.¹

On September 6th Culpepper's resolution was called up for further discussion. Pym and his supporters sought to break its force by an amendment, while Culpepper wished to enlarge its scope, and he again carried his point. Before the final vote was taken, it was recommitted in a spirit of forbearance.

The Lords, as usual, attempted to hold the radical spirit of the lower House in check. On the 8th they agreed to the resolution on the removal of the communion table. Images of the Virgin, which had been erected more than twenty years, were to be allowed to stand, and everyone was to be left free in the matter of bowing. The clause concerning Sunday was left for further consideration on the 9th, the adjournment having been postponed one day.

A spirit of jealousy of the Lords, which had been growing for some time, was now openly displayed. The Commons resented the half-hearted action of the Peers on these resolutions, and passed a declaration on the authority of the lower House only, making it lawful for parishioners to set up lectures at their own charge. The Lords took offence, and laid aside the Sunday resolution which they had intended to discuss on the 9th. They ordered, instead, that a former order should be printed and published, "that the divine service be performed as it is appointed by the acts of Parliament of this realm; and that all such as shall disturb that wholesome order shall be severely punished according to law." The Commons were not asked to concur, and they in their turn were offended. D'Ewes reminded the House that all men who loved the truth expected a mitigation of the laws already established touching religion, and not a severe execution of them. Pym, seeing the drift towards anarchy, proposed that a messenger should be despatched to ask

¹ Gardiner, vol. x., p. 15.

the King to revoke the Lords' order by a royal proclamation. It was at last determined that the Commons' resolutions should be published together with the order of the Lords, a commentary to be attached expressing surprise that such an important action should be pressed by the Peers when there were but twenty of them present at its passage. With an appeal from the Commons to all men to obey the laws with patience until Parliament could adjust religious grievances, the Houses adjourned on the 9th of September, 1642.¹

Thus far the labours of the Long Parliament had been for the benefit of the nation, and a priceless boon to posterity. At the restoration of Charles II., practically all that it had done up to this adjournment was permitted to stand; and its work has never since been materially disturbed. The abolishment of those extraordinary courts which had been the main support of the old monarchical system, had brought the Government very near to the modern constitutional form. The acts of arbitrary power which those courts had unjustly sustained under the forms of law, necessarily ceased when there was no longer any machinery of judicature for their further support. The King's prerogative was already a mere form. But after the reassembling of Parliament, the leaders of the new system pressed on without a specific object, seemingly to pull down without planning to build up. Was it because they were distrustful of Charles? or was it because there were some there who aimed at self-aggrandisement and power? Perhaps both of these considerations had their weight. After tying the King's hands as they had now done, it would have been well to pause. Instead of this, they diverted their attacks from the King's power to institutions which were dear to the hearts of many of their countrymen. The spirit of faction, the formation of heated parties, the rapid growth of incivism, were the logical fruits of their persistency.

¹ Gardiner, vol. x., p. 17.



CHAPTER X.

SCOTTISH INTRIGUES AND IRISH MASSACRES.

The King in Scotland—Strife among the Nobles there—Argyle—Montrose—Hamilton—The Incident—The Irish Massacre—Statement of its Causes—Its Atrocious Cruelties—The English Parliament Reassembles—The Grand Remonstrance—Puritan Opposition to Further Revolution—Fear of Anarchy—Growth of Royalist Sentiment—Cromwell Votes for the Grand Remonstrance—Declares he would have Quit England had it Failed—The King Returns to England—Hopes to Prove Treason on the Puritan Leaders—Is Welcomed at London—Addresses the People—Meets with Parliament—Origin of Cavaliers and Roundheads—Exclusion of the Bishops—Pym Threatens to Abolish the House of Lords—The Militia Bill.

IN the meantime, the vexed Monarch had arrived in Edinburgh, where he received a loyal and enthusiastic reception. He wrote to a Government official that all difficulties in Scotland were now passed. He assured his impatient Queen that Argyle had promised to do him faithful service, and that Leslie, who was equally devoted, had driven with him round the town amid the shouts of the people. His line of vision was not sufficiently clear to discern that these demonstrations were only the natural homage that was due to the unusual presence of Majesty. Endymion Porter, a member of Parliament and an acute observer, wrote "that the King was, as usual, pushing subtle designs of gaining popular opinion, and weak executions for the upholding of monarchy."

Charles at first attempted to ingratiate himself with the Presbyterian middle class, but had not gone far before he turned to the turbulent aristocracy. Among these noblemen there was a condition of jealous strife which would have con-

vinced a broader mind of the futility of seeking their united support. But with Charles, it was a natural conclusion that out of their animosities he might reap advantages which would strengthen his fainting sovereignty. Argyle, the most powerful of Scotland's chieftains, had won the confidence of the great middle classes and of the common people. His influence was resented by the other nobles, and the valiant Montrose was now confined in prison for the temerity with which he had opposed Argyle's growing power. The Marquis of Hamilton, who is suspected of having cherished designs on the Crown of Scotland, had attached himself to Argyle from motives of self-exaltation.

Out of this situation, there arose an affair which is known in history as "The Incident." The Scottish Parliament was already curbing the King's ambition, and dissipating the fond hopes which he had brought with him into their country. After having passed an act requiring the officers of State to be appointed with the consent of Parliament, they had virtually construed that statute to vest the very appointments with themselves, and certain nominations which the King sent them were rejected, to his great discomfiture. Charles cast the blame on Hamilton's intrigues, which brought that nobleman's brother, the Earl of Lanark, to plead his cause before the King. Charles received him coldly, and dismissed him without favour.

Montrose seized this moment as one to ameliorate his own fate. He had already written twice, offering to make revelations of the utmost importance to the King's Crown and dignity, but Charles had spurned to hear him. In the third letter, the victims of these revelations appeared to be Hamilton and Argyle. But in the rude condition of legal processes it would be impossible to arrest these stalwart leaders, having at their call, according to popular belief, armed retainers amounting to five thousand men. "The Incident" grew out of a plan devised by the Earl of Crawford, a Catholic and head of the House of Lindsey, to privately seize Hamilton and Argyle, and, if rescue were attempted, to assassinate them. It is not clear that the King was aware of this conspiracy to seize

the two men, and, even if he knew of it, it is scarcely possible that he possessed the slightest information of their proposed murder. After all that can be justly said against him, there is nothing in his character that will permit the assumption of his connivance in such an atrocious plan. Information of the plot was carried to Leslie, who was expected to furnish a military guard for the incarceration of the two noblemen in the event of their arrest. But Leslie made a full disclosure of the affair to Hamilton and Argyle, who, with Lanark, precipitately fled from the city.

At the instant of their disappearance Charles was on his way to the Parliament House, followed by an armed escort of five hundred men, and it was this imposing approach that had led to the flight of the accused noblemen, who professed their unwillingness to incur a slaughter in the streets in the King's presence.

Charles quickly detected a suspicion against himself, which led him with tears in his eyes to deny all knowledge of "The Incident," and to remind his people that on another occasion when a charge of disloyalty had been laid against Hamilton he had permitted that friend of his youth to sleep in his own royal chamber, as a mark of his unabated confidence and regard. In the end there was no very serious termination to the affair. Montrose obtained his liberty. The Marquis of Hamilton was created a duke and the Earl of Argyle a marquis, while General Leslie took his seat in the Scottish Parliament as Earl of Leven.¹

But popular interest which might have been attracted to an investigation of "The Incident" was quickly diverted by the appalling news of a bloody uprising of the native inhabitants of Ireland against the English settlers. The administration of Irish affairs since the accession of the Stuart dynasty had been based upon a singular disregard of the rights of the indigenous population. The worship of the Catholic religion had been proscribed among a people who knew no other faith, and any manifestation of spiritual zeal on the part of the Irish was sure

¹ Disraeli, vol. iv., p. 320; Gardiner, vol. x., p. 23.

to meet with contumelious treatment from the English. But it was not alone in their faith that the Irish were touched. The attempt to establish an English plantation in the province of Ulster was an attempt to wrest their lands from this rude and nearly barbarous people. Under an artificial process of law six entire counties were declared to be forfeited to the Crown, and a Protestant emigration from England and Scotland was without much further ceremony invested with the richest parts of that fertile soil. The original owners were thrust forth, not even being allowed to serve the new possessors for hire, the settlers thinking it safer, as doubtless it was, to have the Irish out of sight of their despoiled lands.¹

It had been a commendable intention in the mind of Charles, whenever he felt himself sufficiently secure to follow out his own desires, to proclaim religious liberty to the Catholics in Ireland; and while the narrow spirit of that age would have made this a perilous move, posterity would have applauded its wisdom and humanity. It was one of his promises to the Pope, in return for the oft-solicited contribution of funds, that he would do so. But when his difficulties continued to increase, the project was laid aside.

In the meantime, the loud discussions in England and Scotland over the questions of political and religious privileges had very naturally led the Irish to inquire among themselves whether they possessed any similar privileges as subjects of the British Crown. The treatment of Catholics in England led them to shortly expect equally severe repression in Ireland. As early as February, 1640, the Irish Catholics had talked secretly together concerning retaliation. In June of that year, when a part of the disbanded Irish army was on the march for foreign service, the priests and friars intercepted them and warned them to remain, as they would find use for their arms at home. In August, 1641, a general uprising in the north and the seizure of Dublin Castle were planned to take place on October 23d. Early in the latter month a convention of

¹ *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, Prendergast, p. lxxi.

priests and laymen was held in the Abbey of Multyfarnham, in Westmeath, and the question of a course to be taken against the English and other Protestants was agitated. Nearly all the priests, and many of the lay members, urged that no massacre occur. The insurgents were requested to treat the English as the Spaniards had treated the Moors, sending them back to their own country with at least some part of their property. Others loudly demanded a general slaughter. To banish them would simply provoke them to return with swords in their hands. With this divergence of opinion the convention dispersed, all knowing that there would soon be a mad carnage in Ireland.

On the evening preceding the date set for the attack on the Castle the secret was carried to the English authorities by Owen O'Connolly, a Protestant, who informed the Lords Justices that all the Englishmen in Dublin were to be put to death the next day, and all the Protestants in the other towns to be slaughtered that very night. The English acted with promptness and courage. Lord Maguire and Hugh McMahon, the leaders of the Dublin Irish, were seized, and the other insurgents were overawed by a display of force in the Castle's garrison.

But outside of Dublin the red hand of rebellion would be content with nothing but the rout and massacre of the English. In Fermanagh three hundred English were killed on the first day of the outbreak. At many places where captives were taken, those who would have spared human life were driven off, and all the prisoners were sacrificed, women and children being murdered with the rest. The bodies of the dead were allowed to lie where they fell, without burial, putrefying for many weeks.

In Cavan, Philip O'Reilly, who headed the rebellion, sternly forbade his followers to commit cruelty or murder. He gave leave to some eight hundred English to depart, taking some of their property with them. They had not gone far before other rebels waylaid them, killed a part, and stripped the others to the skin, compelling them to go forward empty-handed and naked to Kilmore. Two thousand fugitives from Belturbet,

under a guard of two hundred Irishmen, had proceeded a few miles when they were set upon by an angry horde of men, women, and children, who robbed them of all they carried, and took from every one the last vestige of clothing, leaving not even a rag for modesty's sake. Many of them perished on the way from hunger and cold, the rest reaching Dublin more dead than alive.

In northern Ireland the cruelties were more deliberate and more atrocious. Protestants were hung and stabbed with ferocious delight. Noses and ears were cut off; women were foully abused in the presence of husbands and brothers, and afterwards had their hands and legs cut off at the joints; and at Portadown and Corbridge many persons were flung from the bridges to drown in the rivers beneath. Thousands of men, women, and children were indiscriminately driven naked through the cold November nights, and the Irish considered it a benign mercy to let them escape thus, carrying only their lives with them. Sir Phelim O'Neill, who was in command, in so far as such a horde could be commanded, had issued a proclamation at the outset, declaring that no harm was intended to the King nor to any of his subjects. In view of what followed, the proclamation seemed to be a grim satire. The estimates of the Protestants who were atrociously slain vary all the way from 50,000 to 200,000. The real number was probably much less than 5000.¹

The Long Parliament had met again on the 20th of October. On the 1st of November a letter from the Lords Justices was read at Westminster, describing the conspiracy against Dublin Castle, and telling all that could be learned of the projected uprising throughout Ireland. On the 11th further advices reached Parliament. The ever-ready cry of a Popish plot was heard in London. It was voted to send two thousand troops

¹ Borlace's *History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion*, London, 1680, p. 132; *The Perfect Politician; or, A Full View of the Life of O. Cromwell*, London, 1680, p. 44; Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 398; May's *History of the Long Parliament*, book ii., p. 6; Gardiner, vol. x., p. 43; Dr. Lingard admits the Irish atrocities in a general paragraph, Lingard, vol. x., p. 177.

to Ireland at once, and to ask Scotland for one thousand more. Even in this emergency, when the honour of England and the life of thousands of her subjects were at stake, King Pym, as he was now beginning to be called, pushed forward his work of revolution.

He moved a vote that unless the King would dismiss his "evil counsellors," and select ministers approved by Parliament, they would not hold themselves bound to assist him in Ireland. It was a proposition that startled even the boldest man in that House. Hyde declared it was a menace to the King. Waller said it absolved the House from its duty, as Strafford absolved the King from all rules of government. Pym's own followers shrank from so radical a step, and the House rejected his motion. But a few days later it was carried in a modified form, the sting remaining just as severe as in the original shape, but veiled in more considerate language. On the 17th the details of the second Army plot were presented to Parliament, from which it appeared that a petition bearing the King's initials had been circulated among the soldiers, in which they were asked to express their detestation of the leading members of Parliament, and to declare their readiness to march to London to suppress the tumults which those leaders had raised. The Grand Remonstrance, a document devised by Pym, which reviewed all the unwholesome acts of power since the commencement of the present reign, was pushed forward, and became the subject of a great debate. The only purpose of the Grand Remonstrance was to appeal to the country against the King by exciting popular indignation over his usurpations. The Episcopalian party had by this time become the Royalist party. The Root-and-Branch party became the Puritan or Parliamentary party. In the Royalist party men who had voted for every measure that curtailed the King's authority, now perceived that the King's person stood for social order and security of property, which would be menaced by further attacks upon his dignity. They also plainly saw the intention of the Puritans, now victorious over the prerogative, to turn their hands to the work of destroying that stately

and ceremonial worship of the Established Church which was dear to the hearts of so many Englishmen. These considerations led the Royalist party to bitterly oppose the passage of the Grand Remonstrance. When the question was finally put, the relative strength of the two parties was shown by the vote. There were 159 ayes and 148 noes, a majority of 11 votes for the Puritans. The Puritans were afraid that the King purposed to take away from them their religion, and the Grand Remonstrance was their appeal to the nation for the preservation of their faith. The Royalists were equally fearful that the passage of that measure would inflame the public mind against the English Church. And thus it came about that sober and God-fearing Englishmen arrayed themselves against each other because each party had imbibed a deep-seated distrust of the other on questions of religious belief, which only an appeal to the sword could overcome.

Oliver Cromwell had thrown the whole weight of his enthusiastic nature on the side of the Remonstrance. He had boasted to Lord Falkland that its friends in the House were so numerous that it would pass almost without debate. But the small majority of eleven votes showed an error in his conclusion. As they left the Chamber, after the passage of the measure, Falkland asked Cromwell in a tone of irony, whether there had been a debate? "I will take your word for it another time," was the answer. "If the Remonstrance had been rejected, I would have sold all I had the next morning, and never have seen England any more; and I know there are many other honest men of this same resolution."¹ The remark shows the impression which the present evils had made on the hearts of the Puritans. When it became impossible to correct abuses by Parliamentary action, they would, rather than endure a circumscribed faith, seek a new and precarious home in that distant wilderness beyond the sea.

Charles returned from Scotland late in November. All his expectations of material assistance from that quarter were

¹ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 82; Banks's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 13.

dissipated. He had found himself but King in name there, as he was fast finding himself but King in name in England. That deep look of care, which, preserved on Vandyke's portrait, has won for Charles thousands of passionate admirers, had driven from his face the smile of youth and power. Adversity had given to his mind a new dignity. Those weak schemes which were revealed in the disclosure of the two Army plots gave way to better methods. There is reason to believe that the King had made an earnest effort while in Scotland to fasten on the leaders of Parliament the responsibility for the Scottish invasion, and that he hoped to bring them to the block under the forms of law as they had brought Strafford to the block under the forms of law. But while the King was convinced in his own mind of their treason, the evidence attainable was not such as would legally fasten the charge upon them, defended as they would be by a Parliamentary majority.

Charles, like the Puritans, was now appealing to the people. He sent word of his intention to pass through London on his return, and this announcement had given great joy to the people. The Queen had joined him at Theobalds and accompanied him in his progress through the City. A vast concourse of people received the royal pair with enthusiastic acclamations. Charles addressed them and complimented their city. He assured them that the Irish lands which had been acquired by the City Corporation would be restored to them. He hoped, with the assistance of Parliament, to re-establish for them a flourishing trade. He had come back with a hearty affection to his people in general. He would govern them according to the laws, and would maintain the Protestant religion as it had been established in the times of Elizabeth and his father. "This I will do," he said, "if need be, to the hazard of my life and all that is dear to me."

This was his answer to the Grand Remonstrance.¹ There was now to be no compromise, no conciliation, no surrender. Puritanism might look for no sympathy from the Established

¹ The Remonstrance had not yet been published, but Charles was of course entirely familiar with its contents.

Church. Sectarianism should never flourish with the royal sanction. The character of the people that surrounded him impressed him favourably. "I see," said Charles, "that all these former tumults and disorders have only risen from the meaner sort of people, and that the dispositions of the better and main part of the City have ever been loyal and affectionate to my person and government." Richard Gurney, the Lord Mayor, knelt, was touched on the shoulder, and arose Sir Richard Gurney. The people cried, "God bless King Charles, long live Queen Mary!" At Guildhall there was a splendid banquet, after which the royal procession passed on to Whitehall, where the King once more slept in the palace of his fathers.

As a means of quieting the alarms with which the Puritans were vexing the public mind, Charles dismissed the guard which had been stationed around the Parliament House ever since the news of the Irish rebellion had been received. A crowd of Londoners, armed with swords and staves, thereupon appeared in Westminster and demanded the exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Lords. They were dispersed without bloodshed, and the Royalists openly made the charge that the Puritans had invited the mob to approach. It is very probable that the charge was true. A similar charge had been made as to the source of mob inspiration in the days of the Strafford trial. Pym made the counter-charge "that he was informed that there was a conspiracy by some members of this House to accuse other members of the same of treason."

On December 2d Charles came to Westminster to give his assent to a tonnage and poundage bill. The two Houses met him in the Lords' Chamber, and he spoke with scorn of the misplaced alarm which was distressing the Commons. He referred with gratification to his reception in the City, and expressed a hope that his presence would dispel all fears. He was resolved, he told them in solemn and assuring words, not only to maintain all the acts of the existing Parliament, but to grant whatever else could be justly desired in point of liberties or in the maintenance of the established religion.

Meanwhile the tumults still continued about Westminster. The mobs even threw out insolent menaces against the King himself. This brought from a number of young gentlemen who had been officers in the late army an offer of service for the King. They called the turbulent ones who composed the mob, Roundheads, intending to deride their short-cropped hair. These in turn contemptuously referred to the King's adherents as Cavaliers. Such was the origin of those party appellations, first applied in scorn, which the respective possessors were afterwards proud to claim.¹

The burden of the popular cry demanded the exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Lords. In a spirit of rash judgment, Archbishop Williams drew up a protestation signed by the twelve Bishops, setting forth that though they had an undoubted right to sit and vote in Parliament, yet in coming thither they had been menaced, assaulted, and affronted by the unruly multitude, and they could no longer with safety attend their duty in the House. For this reason they protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and invalid, which should pass during the time of their constrained absence.²

The position assumed by the Bishops in this protestation, while strictly legal and just under the old theory of the constitution, was ill-timed and unwise under the existing clamour. Unfortunately the King took no time for considering the propriety of such a paper, but, when it was laid before him, he was moved by its abstract justice to order it presented to the Lords with his approbation. As soon as it was read in the Upper House the Lords desired a conference with the Commons, whom they informed of this astounding document. The Commons saw in it an instant triumph. An impeachment of high treason was immediately sent up against the Bishops, as endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and to invalidate the authority of Parliament; and they were all straightway committed to the Tower.³

¹ Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 339.

² *Ibid.*, 351.

³ *Ibid.*, 353.

Of this incident Clarendon writes :

“ When the passion, rage, and fury of this time shall be forgotten, and posterity shall find amongst the records of the supreme court of judicature so many orders and resolutions in vindication of the liberty of the subject against the imprisoning of any man, though by the King himself, without assigning such a crime as the law hath determined to be worthy of imprisonment ; and in the same year, by this high court, shall find twelve Bishops, members of this court, committed to prison for high treason, for the presenting this protestation, men will surely wonder at the spirit of that reformation.”

The King's honour was further prejudiced about this time by a story that came from Ireland, by which it appeared that Sir Phelim O'Neill had lately taken Armagh, and had boldly exhibited a commission under the Great Seal of England, by which he said he was authorised by the King to restore the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland. This commission has clearly been proved a forgery, but the Commons never paused to ascertain the authenticity of a document so valuable to their plans. Pym notified the Lords that as the Commons were the representative body of the whole nation, while the Lords were but as particular persons coming to Parliament in a particular capacity, the Lords should no longer hold back certain bills which should be passed for the safety of the kingdom, or, if they did, he plainly intimated that the Commons would go forward without them. One of the bills referred to was the Impressment Bill. The Commons were afraid to draft an army for service in Ireland under the common laws lest the King should use it against the Parliament. In this bill they therefore took away his right to compel men to military service beyond the borders of their own county, except under a sudden emergency caused by a foreign invasion. The stoppage of this bill in the House of Lords, and the pressing necessity for sending a large force to Ireland, finally impelled the Commons to tear off the mask. If it was good law, as it seemed to be, that the King could levy troops in any part of England, to employ them against another part, they would demand a new law which would take the sword out of his hand. On December 7th, St. John, the Solicitor General, who might have shown a

more tender regard for his oath of fealty to the King, brought in the Militia Bill, in which it was proposed that a Lord General, whose name was left blank, should be nominated to have supreme command over the militia. He was to have plenary powers. He was to raise men, to levy money to pay them, and to execute martial law. A Lord Admiral was to be provided for the Navy with similar powers.¹ This was revolution that appalled the most radical revolutionist. "Away with it! Cast it out!" were the cries that resounded through the House. Culpepper defined it rightly when he said that it took away from the King the power which was left to him by the law, and placed an unlimited arbitrary power in another. Nor were the objections confined to the Royalist party alone. Many who had gone on with the Root-and-Branch party without faltering, paused at the spectacle of a military despotism which this bill presented. The House wavered, although a proposal to throw the bill out without further consideration was rejected by a majority of thirty-three. The Commons, in their desperation, urged the Lords to send ten thousand Scottish troops to Ireland. The Lords refused to place Ireland in the hands of a Scottish Presbyterian host unless the Commons would agree to send ten thousand English soldiers at the same time. The Commons would give no such assurance, and no troops were sent, and the Irish massacres continued without restriction.

Charles now removed Sir William Balfour from the command of the Tower. Balfour had been lieutenant in the days of Strafford's imprisonment, and had refused to admit Billingsly and his men in the plot for the Earl's escape, and his removal was a significant indication of the King's wariness. This was further apparent in the appointment of one Colonel Lunsford as his successor, a man of a hard conscience, who was supposed to be capable of any violence. The Commons took fright at this incident and asked the Lords to join them in a protest against Lunsford's continuance. The Lords refused to interfere in the King's undoubted right to make the appointment,

¹ Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 332.

but privately suggested to Charles that it would be well to appoint another, and he, mindful of the friendly spirit of the Lords, put Sir John Byron in the position.¹

And now came that attempt to arrest the five members, and destroy the Parliamentary opposition, the failure of which cost Charles Stuart his Crown and life, and made possible the wondrous career of Oliver Cromwell.

¹ Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 333.





CHAPTER XI.

THE ARREST OF THE FIVE MEMBERS.

Charles Plans to Arrest the Puritan Leaders—The Nation Satisfied with the Political Reforms—Further Dissension Caused by Fear of Popery—Proposition to Impeach the Queen—The Arrest Necessary for her Safety—The Five Members Charged with High Treason—The King's Warrant Resisted—Charles Determines to Make the Arrest in Person—The Queen Tells the Secret—Flight of the Five Members—The King's Fatal Blunder—His Conduct in the Commons' Chamber—Failure of his Project—His Speech to the House—The Commons Adjourn under Fear—And Leave Westminster—The King's Herald Proclaims the Five Members Traitors—Charles Visits London—The City Sides with the Parliament—The Commons Assemble the Militia—Flight of the Royal Family from London.

ABOUT the time of his last visit to Scotland, Charles I. had conceived the design of regaining his authority by destroying the leaders of the Parliamentary party. While in Edinburgh, he had in vain sought for the evidence of that correspondence between the members of his Parliament and the Scottish malcontents which he believed had led to the two Bishops' wars. Failing in this, he had bided his time, impatient and sick at heart to see each day taking from him something of his kingly power.

But it was religion more than politics that was now pushing the revolution forward. Had there been a satisfactory understanding on religion between the people and their King, the loyalty of British hearts would long since have restored contentment to the nation, and a sufficient authority to the King. But the prejudiced spirit of that age was stirred to distraction by the fear of a Papal thralldom, and the knowledge which

reached Pym, that Henrietta Maria was soliciting the Pope for an armed force and for money with which to overthrow the Parliament, led to a secret discussion of the feasibility of impeaching the Queen.¹

Even the vacillating Charles could no longer delay. He loved his Queen with an ardour which now led him to imperil life and kingdom for her sake. Strafford, the far-seeing and fearless victim of Puritan prejudice, had counselled an attack on the Parliamentary leaders more than a year before, and Charles had hesitated to act. It was the brilliant and erratic Lord Digby who now proposed to save the Queen by destroying the conspirators.

John Pym, who ruled the House of Commons by the force of his genius; John Hampden, who had won the affection of all Englishmen in opposing ship-money; Sir Arthur Hazelrig, a stalwart agitator and afterwards one of the regicide judges; and Denzil Hollis and William Strode, who had held the Speaker in his chair twelve years before while the Remonstrance was read, were the five members selected for punishment; Lord Kimbolton, better known as Mandeville, in the House of Lords, was included with them. The impeachment was fixed for January 3, 1642. Sir Edward Herbert, the Attorney General, had received instructions, written in the King's own hand, commanding him, as soon as the charge was laid before the Lords, to ask for a secret committee to examine the evidence. If any of the Puritan Lords were named as members of it, he was to object on the ground that the King intended to use them as witnesses.

On the appointed day, as soon as the Lords met, Herbert appeared and made the charge of high treason against the six

¹ Gardiner, vol. x., p. 128. May (*Hist. Long Parl.*, book i., p. 25) says: "The universities, bishops, and divines of England, do daily imbrace Catholick opinions, though they professe it not with open mouth, for feare of the Puritans: For example, they hold that the church of Rome is a true church; that the Pope is superior to all bishops; that to him it appertains to call general councils; that it is lawful to pray for soules departed; that altars ought to be erected; in summe they believe all that is taught by the church, but not by the court of Rome."

persons named in his instructions. It was specified that they had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, and deprive the King of his regal power, and to place on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power. That they had endeavoured by many foul aspersions on His Majesty, and his Government, to alienate the affections of his people, and to make the King odious to them. That they had endeavoured to draw the late Army into disobedience to the King's command, and to side with them in their machinations. That they had invited the Scots to invade England. That they had endeavoured to subvert the very rights and beings of Parliament. That they had endeavoured, by force and terror, to compel the Parliament to join with them in their traitorous designs, and to that end had raised and countenanced tumults against the King and Parliament. Lastly, "that they have traitorously conspired to levy, and actually have levied war against the King."¹

The House of Lords was thunderstruck at this audacious move. The majority of the fifty-nine members present that day were loyal to the King, and only twenty-one of them afterwards opposed him in the Civil War. But they dared not to invite the imperious wrath of the Commons. The Attorney General asked for the arrest of the members. They took time to consider it till the next day, that they might see how the Commons would receive this attack. Lord Digby, who had volunteered to move for Kimbolton's incarceration, whispered to that Lord that the King was ill advised, and hurried out of the House.

In the House of Commons, Pym had just stated that his own study, as well as those of Hampden and Hollis, had been sealed by the King's orders; and it was resolved that to do this without leave from the House was a breach of privilege. A sergeant-at-arms now appeared with orders from the King to arrest the five members. A committee was named to acquaint the King that the demand concerned their privileges, and a reply would

¹ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 357.

be returned as soon as they had given the subject full consideration. In the meantime, the five members would be ready to answer a legal accusation, and they were ordered to appear in their places from day to day.

If the charge of high treason against Strafford was a just charge, then the charge of high treason against Pym and his associates was likewise a just charge. If "to subvert the fundamental laws" meant to overthrow the uncertain precedents of former times, if it referred to the controversy between the prerogatives of the Crown and the privileges of the subject, which had started with King John's barons at Runnymede, then Strafford was guilty, and Pym was guilty. For each had sought to efface the misty lines of the old constitution in accordance with the notions of power or right which he cherished as the correct theory of modern government. But it was a time of revolution, and revolutions are not governed by the solution of fine-spun ethical questions.

That night the King privately determined to arrest the five members himself. The next morning he wavered, and took the Queen aside to tell her his doubts of the wisdom of the act. Her quick French spirit would not hear him with patience. "Go, poltroon," she cried, "pull these rogues out by the ears, or never see my face more!" There is some palliation for her fierce words in the fact that it was her dignity and honour, perhaps her very life, that the Commons were preparing to attack. Charles obeyed her imperious command, knowing at the time that it was unwise, and referring to it afterwards as "a casual mistake." Had he seized the five members at early morning while they slept, his project might have been attended with success. He waited until three o'clock in the afternoon of January 4th, and taking with him his young nephew, the Elector Palatine, he hurried down stairs, calling out, "Let my faithful subjects and soldiers follow me." At the door he entered his coach, and drove off followed by some four hundred armed men.

As the King and his retinue disappeared from her window, the Queen, impetuous and triumphant, communicated the

secret of his purpose to the Countess of Carlisle.¹ Lady Carlisle, who was believed to cherish a tender regard for the Puritan widower, Mr. Pym, stole out of the Queen's presence, and despatched a hasty note to Pym by a French messenger, whose swift foot would enable him to reach Westminster in advance of the King. The messenger ran breathless to the House of Commons, and delivered his message to Pym.²

The House was instantly advised of the King's approach, and the five members were requested to withdraw. Pym, Hampden, Hazelrig, and Hollis obeyed this prudent injunction, and left the House. Strode rashly proposed to remain, but a member seized him by the cloak and dragged him to the bank of the Thames where he took a boat for the City.

And indeed there was no time to be lost. As the King approached, followed by a fierce band of armed men, he struck terror into the hearts of the shop-keepers who gathered about Westminster. As he neared the Commons' door, Charles, ever precise in his deportment, assumed a repose of manner which must have been foreign to his feelings at that fatal moment. Passing between the ranks of the armed throng, he opened the Commons' door, and commanded his followers on their lives not to enter. He then passed in, accompanied only by Prince Charles Henry, the Elector Palatine. The members rose and uncovered, and the King himself took off his hat, and gained the Speaker's stand. "By your leave, Mr. Speaker," he said, "I must borrow your chair a little." Standing in front of it, he darted a quick look on the right hand, near the bar of the House, looking for Pym whom he knew well. Not

¹ A sister of the Earl of Northumberland. Mr. Forster, ever too ready to accept inflamed party gossip for history, asserts that this lady had once been mistress of the Royalist Strafford, and now occupied a similar tender relationship to the Puritan Pym.

² Rushworth. D'Ewes's Diary. Madame de Motteville. Ludlow. Prof. Gardiner discredits the Lady Carlisle incident, but Madame de Motteville, who was with the Queen, saw the note sent, and Rushworth, the clerk of the Long Parliament, says it was received. Clarendon says the information was sent to the Parliament by William Murray, a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, who had received it in confidence from Lord Digby. Ludlow (vol. i., p. 24) says "a lady" sent word to Pym.

seeing him, he took another step towards the chair, which the Speaker vacated for him, but stopped again to search long and earnestly among the sullen faces of the standing members for the five fugitives.

The moment was a thrilling one. It was the first time that ever a King of England had appeared in the House of Commons. The door of the chamber was held open by the Earl of Roxburgh, and by his side stood Captain Hyde, a man of unsavoury reputation. Beyond, in plain view of the members, were the soldiers handling their swords and pistols, and it was remarked that many of the King's followers had thrown away their cloaks for the purpose of having their sword arms free.

The King at length sat down, and as his eyes still failed to detect the men he sought, he became somewhat embarrassed.

"Gentlemen," he said, "I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you. Yesterday I sent a sergeant-at-arms upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that, by my command, were accused of high treason, whereunto I did expect obedience, and not a message; and I must declare unto you here that albeit no King that ever was in England shall be more careful of your privileges, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power, than I shall be, yet you must know that in cases of treason no person hath a privilege, and therefore I am come to know if any of these persons that were accused are here."

Once more he cast his eyes around the House, and called aloud on Mr. Pym. "I do not see any of them," he said. "I think I should know them." And then, continuing his address, he went on:

"For I must tell you, gentlemen, that so long as these persons that I have accused, for no slight crime, but for treason, are here, I cannot expect that this House will be in the right way that I do heartily wish it. Therefore I am come to tell you that I must have them wheresoever I find them."

He mentioned the name of Denzil Hollis, but there was no reply. He turned to Speaker Lenthall and inquired, "Are any of these persons in the House?" The Speaker, who was deeply affected, made an ingenious answer. Falling upon his

knees, he said: "May it please Your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place, but as this House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here; and I humbly beg Your Majesty's pardon that I cannot give any other answer than this to what Your Majesty is pleased to demand of me."

"Well," said Charles, baffled, but attempting to assume an air of cheerfulness, "since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect from you that you will send them unto me as soon as they return hither. But I assure you, on the word of a King," he continued with great solemnity, as if in a last effort to impress them with a desire for a better understanding, "I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other. And now, since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly, that whatsoever I have done in favour and to the good of my subjects, I do mean to maintain it. I will trouble you no more, but tell you I do expect, as soon as they come to the House, you will send them to me, otherwise I must take my own course to find them."¹

The King stepped down from the Speaker's chair, and left the House with gloom and disappointment on his brow. "Privilege, Privilege!" were the ominous words that were hurled at him by the members whom he had left behind. The Cavaliers who waited without were exasperated at the failure of his mission. They were ready for bloody work if the command had been spoken. "I warrant you," said one, looking through the open doorway at the Commons, "I am a good marksman. I will hit sure." An officer said the next day that they had gone to Westminster because they heard that the House of Commons would not obey the King, and therefore they came to force them to it. He thought if the word had been given they certainly would have fallen upon the members.

When the King returned to Henrietta Maria with the news

¹ Rushworth took this speech in shorthand, and was sent for to Whitehall that night and read his notes to the King, who made no corrections, but had it printed the next morning. Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 478. May's *Hist. Long. Parl.* (London, 1647), book ii., p. 21.

of his failure, she was overcome with grief, and acknowledged that she had indiscreetly betrayed him to Lady Carlisle. Long afterwards she told Madame de Motteville that, although she had ruined his affairs, the King had never upbraided her for her lack of prudence.

The Commons instantly adjourned until one o'clock the next day, with the feeling that they had barely escaped violent death.

But the King could not stop now. He at once issued a proclamation, directing that the ports should be closed to prevent the escape of the five members and forbidding any person to harbour them.

The next day, January 5th, he rode to the City, having with him in his coach the Duke of Hamilton and the Earls of Essex, Holland, and Newport, who were in high favour with the London populace. Arriving at Guildhall he demanded the five members from the Common Council. The feeling was divided. One faction shouted, "Parliament! Privileges of Parliament!" Others cried, "God bless the King!" Charles made a move for popularity by asking that those who had anything to say would speak their minds. "It is the vote of this Court," cried one, "that Your Majesty hear the advice of your Parliament." "It is not the vote of this Court," shouted another, "it is your own vote." The King took up this thought. "Who is it," he said, "that says I do not take the advice of my Parliament? I do take their advice; but I must distinguish between the Parliament and some traitors in it." A man shouted, "Privileges of Parliament!" "I have and will observe all the privileges of Parliament," answered the King, maintaining his patience, "but no privileges can protect a traitor from a legal trial." The five members were not surrendered, and the alternating shouts of "Privilege!" and "God save the King!" followed him to his coach. He stopped to dine with one of the sheriffs. On his way to Whitehall after dinner, a bold Puritan threw into his coach a paper on which was written, "To your tents, O Israel!"—a significant allusion to the war-cry of the Israelites in their revolt against King Rehoboam.¹

¹ I. Kings, xii., 16. This war-cry was also sounded by Sheba, the son of Bichri, in the rebellion which he incited against King David—II. Samuel, xx., 1.

As soon as Charles had left Guildhall the Common Council agreed on a petition in favour of the five members. The City thus arrayed itself officially on the side of the Parliament. In the meantime the Commons met at Westminster at one o'clock, drew up a declaration of their violated privileges, and adjourned until the 11th. They continued to meet as a Committee of the Whole at Guildhall, under the protection of the City, where the unlawfulness of the impeachment was daily discussed. It has been declared that the only way to have legally prosecuted the five members was by trial before a petit jury on an indictment by the grand jury. But there was one precedent on the King's side—a precedent established in his own reign in the impeachment of the Earl of Bristol. But it was now resolved that the King could not issue a warrant. The King was not accountable for his acts, and a warrant must be issued by one of the King's ministers, who would be accountable. If the King made a false arrest he could not be sued for damages. If the King's officers made a false arrest the injured party could obtain redress.

On the 7th a herald, standing in front of Whitehall, proclaimed the six impeached persons traitors, and an official was sent to the City to arrest them, but was compelled to return without them, having been badly treated by the mob.

On the 8th the Commons, sitting as a committee, passed a resolution declaring it to be legal to require the sheriffs to bring the militia forces of the county for the security of Parliament; and they called upon the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Common Council, on such a pressing and extraordinary occasion, to provide officers and men for their defence.

The next day was Sunday, doubtless a Sunday of great excitement. On Monday the 10th, Philip Skippon, a plain, pious man, destined to win renown in the Parliamentary army, but now the Captain of the Artillery Garden, was appointed Sergeant-Major-General, to take command of the City trained bands. Some of the members of the House of Lords, sitting in a similar manner as a committee, approved of these measures of protection. The sailors on the Thames offered to assist in the defence of Parliament, and their offer was accepted.

The five members were the heroes of the hour. Great crowds gathered around the lodgings of Pym, and four thousand horsemen of Buckinghamshire held themselves ready at a moment's notice to ride to London to defend their representative, John Hampden. The other three accused members were guarded with equal solicitude.

Charles saw that he was beaten. He had frightened the Commons away from Westminster, but he had not crushed them. They were more formidable now as an oppressed committee in Guildhall than as a free Parliament in Westminster. The King felt certain that their next move would be to tear his Queen away from him.¹ He determined to make his flight from the capital. The Earls of Holland and Essex, loyal to the Monarch though they opposed his assumptions of power, besought some who were in the King's confidence to plead with him for delay. Heenvliet, the Dutch Agent, who was known to have the King's ear, was finally appealed to, but as he beheld the mournful look of grim determination on that usually irresolute face, he could only reply, "Who would dare to do it?"

Charles turned his back upon his throne to save his wife. Acknowledging by flight the supremacy of his Parliament, he could take with him the consolatory conviction that he had denied them nothing which they had demanded in preservation of the liberties of Englishmen. He had sacrificed his favourite Minister, Strafford, who, guiltless of a capital crime, yet stood for the theory of autocratic authority. He had signed the bills which destroyed those arbitrary courts, the Star Chamber, the High Commission, and the Council of York, by the use of which his prerogative had been upheld. He had allowed this Parliament to exist during its own pleasure. He had assented to the bill for the compulsory assembling of triennial Parliaments. He had resigned his claims to the right of taxation without the consent of Parliament. By no single step, not even after they had the entire power of the State in their own hands, did the Parliament advance the political amelioration of England beyond the concessions which Charles had granted to

¹ He so stated to Heenvliet, the Agent of the Prince of Orange—Gardiner, x., p. 149.

them at the time of his flight. In fact, the revolution was already accomplished. Why, then, did they push the King to civil war? There were two reasons for it. They feared that Charles, still clinging to the ancient theories of monarchy, would overthrow the civil reforms which they had wrested from his unwilling hands, at any moment when, by possessing a sufficient army, he might feel himself strong enough to defy them. They likewise were in deadly apprehension lest his too Catholic Queen, whose influence in matters of faith they much over-rated, would turn the King to her own views, and then attempt to overwhelm the Protestant religion by an inundation of the dogmas of Rome.

On the 10th of January the King set out from Whitehall accompanied by a modest retinue. He was never to see that place again but as a prisoner condemned to death. It must have cut him to the heart when Essex and Holland refused to go with him, and told him that his proper place was with his Parliament. When the royal party reached Hampton Court that evening, no preparation had been made for their reception, and the King and Queen and three of their children slept in one room.





CHAPTER XII.

THE PAPER WAR.

The Parliament Returns to Westminster—Popular Triumph of the Five Members—The Commons Declare themselves the Chief Part of the Government—First Action towards Civil War—Hull Seized by the Parliament—Both Parties Begin to Arm—Charles Grants Further Concessions—Heated Messages between King and Commons—The Commons Declare the King can Do No Wrong—They Attribute Ill Acts to Evil Counsellors—The Paper War Inflames the People—The Queen Enlists Soldiers in Holland—Nobility and Gentry with the King—Parliament Endeavours to Acquire Arbitrary Power—Charles Summons Hull—Is Refused—Parliament Reviews its Army—The Nineteen Propositions—The Commons Declare their Ordinances Law without the King's Assent—Religion the Cause of the War—The King Erects his Standard at Nottingham—Prince Rupert Joins him.

ON the day following the King's flight from the capital the Parliament returned to Westminster in triumph.

The Thames was covered with gaily-decorated craft, and its banks were lined by joyous citizens whose loud huzzas proclaimed the vindication of the privileges of Parliament. Two rows of boats were formed, reaching from London Bridge to Westminster Hall, and between these, in a vessel manned by sailors who had volunteered their services, the five members returned in a halo of popular glory to the seats from which an angry King had driven them one week before. As soon as Pym—now indeed "King Pym"—reached his old seat, he rose, and with Hampden, Hazelrig, Hollis, and Strode standing uncovered beside him, he gratefully, in behalf of himself and his companions, returned thanks to the citizens of London for the favours and protection which they had extended to the five

men who were under the ban of a Monarch's wrath. The sheriffs were then similarly thanked by a unanimous vote of the House, and orders were issued that a guard, selected from the train-bands of the city, should attend daily to watch over the safety of the Parliament.

It was a great day for the Parliamentary leaders. With more than half the nation at their back they never faltered in pressing on the revolution. They would employ peaceful means if possible; if not, they would endure bloodshed and war. The threatened arrest had cemented some discordant fractures in the Parliamentary ranks, it had brought over some wavering Lords to the popular side, and, above all, it had kindled in the hearts of the five members a sense of personal injury which nerved them to aggressions at which patriotism would have timidly paused. Lord Clarendon has observed that "Mr. Hampden was much altered after this accusation; his nature and courage seeming much fiercer than before." And it is certain that Pym and Hampden inspired and led those extremists for root-and-branch measures, both as to the Crown and the Church, whose fiery and uncompromising zeal overthrew all overtures for peace, and finally produced war. Among these men were Oliver Cromwell, Oliver St. John, and young Sir Harry Vane. Of the conduct of the Parliament after the King's flight, the great Lord Chatham has justly said: "There was ambition, there was sedition, there was violence; but no man shall persuade me that it was not the cause of liberty on one side, and of tyranny on the other."¹

The purpose of the Commons to regard themselves as the principal part of the Government was rather ludicrously shown in a vote that had passed not long before, in which it was declared that a majority vote of their House, together with a minority vote of the House of Lords, would be sufficient to enact laws. A perspicacious member who suggested that this principle could be reversed so as to make a majority of the

¹ These words are ascribed to Lord Chatham, in a speech of Mr. Grattan, according to Lord John Russell in his essay on *The History of the English Government*.

Lords and a minority of the Commons defeat such legislation was instantly committed for contempt, and made to retract his words before he could again assume his seat.

But the Lower House soon gave a more formidable expression to this assumption of superiority. They were desperately in need of money, and applied to the City of London for a loan. The authorities, under the dictation of Pym, refused to advance the funds except upon certain conditions, which were delivered in the form of twelve specific grievances, for which they demanded instant redress. These grievances consisted of those crying evils which had afflicted the nation since the beginning of the present reign. In a conference between the two Houses, Pym asked for the concurrence of the Lords in further restrictive legislation, and concluded a long speech in these words:

“The Commons will be glad to have your concurrence and help in saving of the kingdom; but, if they fail of it, it shall not discourage them in doing their duty. And whether the kingdom be lost or saved (I hope, through God’s blessing, it will be saved!), they shall be sorry that the story of this present Parliament should tell posterity that, in so great a danger and extremity, the House of Commons should be enforced to save the Kingdom alone, and that the Peers should have no part in the honour of the preservation of it, having so great an interest in the good success of those endeavours in respect of their great estates and high degrees of nobility.”¹

The first step towards the beginning of the Civil War was now taken. At Hull, a town on the Humber, in the north of England, and commanding the sea, were still stored the munitions which had been collected for the second Bishops’ war. Besides, the place was convenient for the landing of such foreign troops as Charles might be able to enlist for the subjugation of his kingdom. The Parliament learned that the King had appointed the Earl of Newcastle to be Governor of Hull, and that he had given instructions to Captain Legg, an officer who had been concerned in the Army plots, to hasten to Hull and secure the good-will of the people in the north to their new Governor. The Parliament issued orders to Sir John Hotham

¹ Forster’s *Statesmen*, p. 218.

to secure Hull by means of the Yorkshire trained bands, and not to deliver it up until he was ordered to do so by "the King's authority, signified unto him by the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament." In a few minutes young John Hotham, the son of Sir John, and himself a member of Parliament, was spurring his horse over the frozen road, and it was a race for Hull between him and Captain Legg, in which Hotham arrived first, and secured the adherence of the old Knight to the Parliament.¹

In the face of such a stirring incident, the Lords joined with the Commons in measures looking to the common safety. A bill was promptly passed enabling Parliament to adjourn itself to any place it would, the intention being to enable it to sit at Guildhall instead of at Westminster. This was sent to the King, who was now gone to Windsor, and who returned answer that he would take time to consider the bill; and he took occasion to announce to the Parliament that, as the legality of his impeachment of the accused members had been disputed, he would now abandon it and proceed against them "in an unquestionable way." This declaration that he would not drop the prosecution threw the Commons into a greater irritation. Four thousand of Hampden's constituents rode up from Buckinghamshire, and announced that they were ready to live and die in defence of the privileges of Parliament.

As the King's friends were meeting in armed parties from time to time, the Parliament invited all the counties of England to call out their trained bands for drilling and defence. The declaration stated that all that had occurred amiss was caused by the Papists. It was the firm belief of Parliament that there was a vast conspiracy for the restoration jointly of absolute Monarchy and Popery, and the Irish rebellion, the impeachment of the five members, and the growing cloud of civil war were considered to be due to the unfolding of that plot.

On January 17, 1642, Heenvliet, the Agent of the Prince of Orange, was requested by the King to mediate with the Parlia-

¹ Gardiner, vol. x., p. 531.

ment. In this interview, Charles exhibited that singular insensibility to his environments which marked all his negotiations with the Parliament. Heenvliet asked him what message he should carry to them. "Tell them," replied Charles, "that you find me hard to satisfy, and then they will be anxious to secure your help." With his power and Crown already taken away, it was a bad time to tell them that he was hard to satisfy. The Queen was present and made bitter complaints of the Commons for their accusations against her. She declared that she had never given evil counsels to the King, and affirmed that she detested the Irish rebellion. The King, she said, would be content to enjoy his revenue as he had had it before these troubles, and would have his Parliament meet every three years instead of remaining in perpetual session. He would wait two days at Windsor for an answer. If none came he would take her and the Princess to Portsmouth where they would be put in safe custody, while he and the Prince of Wales would go on to Yorkshire. The King's name, she said, was revered everywhere outside of London. He would issue a manifesto announcing his desire for peace and forbidding the trained bands to obey any one but himself. But if they went to Portsmouth, she concluded, the Prince of Orange must not allow the King to perish.¹ Nothing of good or ill resulted from Heenvliet's interposition.

The two Houses passed a bill excluding the Bishops from their seats in the House of Lords. It was a blow which paralysed the power of the Church to interfere in temporal affairs. The King was much displeased. "How am I to take away the Bishops," he said, "having sworn at my coronation to maintain them in their privileges and pre-eminences? At the beginning I was told that all would go well if I would allow the execution of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; then it was, if I would grant a triennial Parliament; then it was, if I would allow the present Parliament to remain sitting as long as it wished; now it is, if I will place the ports, the Tower, and

¹ Heenvliet's Despatch, Gardiner, vol. x., p. 158.

the militia in their hands; and scarcely has that request been presented, when they ask me to remove the Bishops." But Charles, anxious for peace, signed the Exclusion Bill, and appointed Conyers, a Puritan, to the Lieutenancy of the Tower, in place of Byron.

Beyond all that he had heretofore granted, he now consented to give them the control of the militia if they would but set a limit to the time at which their control should expire. Both Houses thanked him warmly for his concessions, but immediately impeached his loyal adherent, Lord Digby, for high treason, on account of a letter to the Queen in which Digby had only used expressions which proved his unswerving loyalty to the King. The King and Queen had now reached Dover in their hapless wanderings. Henrietta Maria, accompanied by her daughter and carrying with her the Crown jewels and much precious plate, set sail for Holland, entertaining a high hope of her ability to obtain both men and money for the rehabilitation of the King's dignity. Charles bade her a most tender farewell, and galloped along the high grey cliffs with the vessel's course, until the ship, bearing its precious burden, put out to sea and was lost to view. The Queen being out of danger, he refused to sign the militia ordinance.

The "Paper War," which name has been applied to the exchange of the messages between the King and his Parliament, was waxing warm. The King sent them word that he was willing to accept the persons to command the militia whom they would nominate, but they must receive their commissions from himself, and those commissions must cease whenever he should so desire it. As this arrangement would give them no security against the King's caprice, the Houses voted that the answer was equivalent to a denial of their request. They begged him to fix his residence nearer to Westminster, as his peripatetic course was stirring up excitement and danger. "For my residence near you," the King answered, "I wish it might be so safe and honourable that I had no cause to absent myself from Whitehall; ask yourselves whether I have or not." The day after this answer was

despatched (March 2, 1642), Charles started for the north. On March 5th, the Houses passed their ordinance putting the militia in charge of their own officers, and thus seized the power of the sword into their own custody. On the 9th the King was overtaken at Newmarket by a Parliamentary committee. Would not His Majesty approve their control of the militia for a limited time? "No, by God," thundered the aroused King, "not for an hour. You have asked that of me in this, was never asked of a king, and with which I will not trust my wife and children." They read him a list of grievances. "That's false!" "That's a lie!" were the comments which he passed upon each article. "What would you have?" he cried. "Have I violated your laws? Have I denied to pass one bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask you what you have done for me. God so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant profession, and for the observation and preservation of the laws of this land; and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for my preservation." The Earl of Pembroke begged Charles to come nearer to Westminster, and to say clearly what he desired. "I would whip a boy in Westminster School," he replied, "who could not tell that by my answer."

The King's proclamation that the ordinances of the two Houses were not to be obeyed without his consent, drew forth a sharp answer from Parliament, which was revolutionary to the core, "that when the Lords and Commons in Parliament, which is the supreme court of judicature in the kingdom, shall declare what the law of the land is, to have this not only questioned and controverted, but contradicted, and a command that it should not be obeyed, is a high breach of the privilege of Parliament." The King adroitly quoted a speech of Pym's against the present course of the Commons:

"Mr. Pym himself tells you, in his speech against the Earl of Strafford (published by the order of the House of Commons): 'The law is the safeguard, the custody of all private interests; your honours, your lives, your liberties and estates are all in the keeping of the law; without this, every man hath a like right to

anything.' And we would fain be answered, what title any subject of our own kingdom hath to his house or land, that we have not to our town of Hull . . . We conclude with Mr. Pym's own words: ' If the prerogative of the King overwhelm the liberty of the people, it will be turned to tyranny; if liberty undermine the prerogative, it will grow into anarchy'; and so we say into confusion."

The Commons, in their reply to this deft thrust, struck the keynote of their own feelings in the controversy. "If," they answered, "we have done more than our ancestors have done, we have suffered more than ever they have suffered."

Their many denunciations of the King's conduct, in which they dutifully charged its reprehensible parts to "his evil counsellors," led Charles to say to them that "he could wish that his own immediate actions, which he avows on his own honour, might not be so roughly censured under that common style of evil counsellors." This evoked a reply which showed that one principle, at least, of the old constitution remained intact and alive in the respect of the nation. "We, His Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects," said they, "can use no other style, according to that maxim in the law, *The King can do no wrong*, but if any ill be committed in matter of state, the council must answer for it; if in matters of justice, the judges." This ancient and humane concession to the individuality of the sovereign was swept away at a later day in that burst of fanaticism and party spirit which brought Charles to the block.

Charles, notwithstanding all the errors of his Government, was intensely in earnest in striving to stop the tide of incivism which was overthrowing public order. In a further message to Parliament he quoted a fine passage from one of Pym's speeches in the Strafford trial, thus showing his respect for Pym's intellect and at the same time thrusting upon the Commons a rebuke in Pym's own words. The King appealed to them thus:

"It was well said in a speech made by a private person (Mr. Pym): 'The law is that which puts a difference betwixt good and evil, betwixt just and unjust. If you take away the law, all things will fall into a confusion; every man will become a law unto himself, which, in the depraved condition of human nature, must needs produce many great enormities. Lust will become a law, and envy will become a law; covetousness and ambition will become laws; and what dictates, what deci-

sions such laws will produce, may easily be discerned.' So said that gentleman, and much more, very well, in defence of the law, and against arbitrary power. It is worth looking over and considering ; and if the most zealous defence of the true Protestant profession and the most resolved protection of the law be the most necessary duty of a Prince, we cannot believe this miserable distance and misunderstanding can be long continued between us ; we have often and earnestly declared them to be the chiefest desires of our soul, and the end and rule of all our actions."

When Parliament asked his permission to bring the military stores from Hull to London, he correctly referred to their appointment of Hotham as an illegal act, and then made a candid appeal to their sense of right. He wrote :

"And now let us ask you ; . . . Will there never be a time to offer to, as well as to ask of us ? We will propose no more particulars to you, having no such luck to please or to be understood by you. Take your own time for what concerns our particulars ; but be sure you have an early speedy care of the public, that is, of the only rule which preserves the public, the law of the land ; preserve the dignity and reverence due to that."¹

The "Paper War" was feeding a bitterness of spirit between the two parties which must soon break out into a sanguinary conflict. Charles firmly believed that the Puritan majority in the House of Commons was endeavouring to strip him of his lawful and regal authority in order to destroy the Established Church. The Commons just as firmly believed that Charles, under the inspiration of his Catholic spouse, was engaged in a wicked plot to establish the Pope's authority throughout the British dominions. Civil liberty had long since ceased to be the goal of this revolution. It was Protestantism, and all that Protestantism had done to make free the minds and the consciences of men, which was inspiring the conduct of the Commons. It was the old theory of the divine right and the individual power of the sovereign which led Charles to resist. And however exalted may have been the motives of the Commons, or however selfish the motives of the King, the candid historian cannot but acknowledge that the two parties were at cross-purposes, and that they were led into war rather by an

¹ The papers are printed in Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 484 *et seq.*

overpowering suspicion which each held against the other's rectitude, than by those irremediable oppressions which have always justified revolutions in the past, and will ever palliate them in the future.

The Queen was busily at work in Holland, and expected to be able to embark a band of mercenary soldiers whenever the King's affairs might require their aid. She wrote to Charles that he must seize Hull in order to possess a seaport for landing troops, for the Parliament now controlled the Navy.

On the 19th of March, 1642, the King and his retinue rode into York, and Charles exerted every art of his princely manner to win the cordial sympathy of his northern subjects. He likewise sought favour with the Puritans by ordering the execution of all the laws against the Catholics. The people received him loyally. Indeed, Charles had by this time gathered a party to his side in the pending controversy. In 1640 he had stood alone. In 1642, having yielded his assent to measures which made the formation of a model government possible, the fear of arbitrary power, which had once been held with full justice against him, was now held—shall we say with equal justice?—against the House of Commons. A large preponderance of the nobility and gentry was heartily in sympathy with the King. But up to this time there was a very small number indeed who would proclaim themselves ready to take arms against a Parliament to which the nation indubitably owed the establishment of its civil liberty.

Under the pretext of a wish to keep state at Easter and at the Feast of St. George, but really to demonstrate that the centre of the State was present wherever his own person was, the King summoned the Lords Holland and Essex, with others from the Upper House at Westminster, to attend him at York. The House of Lords refused to let them go, and ordered them to remain in attendance upon their Parliamentary duties.

On March 25th the grand jury of Kent drew up a petition to the Parliament praying for the protection of the Episcopal religion, the prevention of the spread of sectarianism, the execution of the anti-Catholic laws, and the settlement of the

militia by and with the King's consent. This Kentish petition was the first formal declaration of any portion of the people in favour of the King's cause. Its reading in the House of Commons excited the gravest indignation, and the persons who were instrumental in its preparation were summoned to Westminster as offenders against the privilege and dignity of Parliament, and two of them were committed to the Tower. Thus the Parliament, while giving the widest publicity to the petitions which favoured their side of the dispute, violently attempted to throttle a fair discussion of the principles involved as seen from the Cavaliers' point of view. With the vote which made prisoners of these Kentish petitioners, the outraged feelings of those in the minority brought the party spirit to a condition where war seemed to be the inevitable solution of the vexing question. It at once became apparent that this perpetual Parliament no longer represented the nation, but only a part—and no man could say how large a part—of the nation. The Commons were clearly aiming at arbitrary power under the sway of Pym, as much as the King had aimed at arbitrary power under the sway of Strafford. And men began to ponder, while forming themselves on the party lines of Roundhead or Cavalier, whether it were not better to preserve the ancient form of the Government under the now limited prerogative of the King, than to tacitly permit the Commons to establish further new and untried theories in the organic constitution?

Orders were sent from Parliament to Hotham to reinforce his garrison at Hull, and a few days later a body of horsemen rode out of London to join the King at York. Pym still believed, or professed to believe, that he had all England at his back, but when a member proposed to send a delegation into each county to inquire into the state of public feeling, he was not willing to submit his popularity to such a test.¹

The King now informed the Parliament of his desire to lead an army into Ireland for the suppression of the rebellion which

¹ D'Ewes's Diary. Gardiner, vol. x., p. 184.

was still raging there, but the Parliament interpreted this offer as an attempt to place himself at the head of an armed host for their own subjugation, and they therefore begged him not to endanger the safety of his sacred person in such a laudable but hazardous expedition. Both parties were waiting for an overt act of war, each fearful to take the initiative.

The Queen was rashly importuning the King to begin hostilities by seizing Hull. She said in one of her letters:

“As to what you wrote me that everybody dissuades you concerning Hull from taking it by force, unless the Parliament begins,—is it not beginning, to put persons into it against your orders? . . . For your having Hull is not beginning anything violent, for it is only against the rascal who refuses it to you . . . Think that if you had not stopped so prematurely, our affairs would perhaps be in a better state than they are, and you would at this moment have Hull.”

The King accepted this logic, bad as it was. On the 22d of April he sent the Elector Palatine and his own son, the Duke of York, to visit the town, as if in the way of friendly inspection. With them were some fifty true men. The following day the King approached the town with only three hundred of his followers. When almost in sight of the walls he sent a message to Hotham informing him that he was coming to view his magazines. Had Charles ridden into the town unannounced, Hotham would hardly have dared to oppose his King's entry into his own possessions. But forewarned, he had time to act. He closed the gates and raised the drawbridges, sending word to the King that he could not break his trust with the Parliament. In a few moments Charles appeared, and his men cried out to the garrison to kill Hotham and throw him over the wall. Charles offered to take only twenty men with him if the gates were opened. Hotham, fearing the royalist sentiment of the populace, on which the King doubtless counted, refused. The repulsed Monarch ordered the herald to proclaim Hotham a traitor, and rode away. The advantage was certainly with the Parliament. They at once issued an order for the removal of the Hull magazine to London; and on May 10th both Houses reviewed the

London trained bands, to the number of 8000, in Finsbury Fields.

On the 14th the King issued an order requiring the gentry of the county to appear under arms at York on the 20th as a guard for his person. He also sent instructions to Skippon, in command of the London trained bands, to come to York, and ordered the Lord Keeper to remove the law courts from Westminster to York. The Parliament promptly voted these orders illegal, and on the 20th they declared that the King intended to make war on his Parliament, and begged him to desist from his purpose of raising troops.

The King's guard was becoming formidable. He had now a regiment of trained bands, and about two hundred gentlemen of Yorkshire well mounted. He had summoned such of the Lords and Commons as were willing to support him to come to him, and many of them accepted his invitation. Indeed, a stream of persons of the better conditions began to set in towards York.

On June 2d a further step was made in the "Paper War" by the Parliament sending their Nineteen Propositions off to the King. In these propositions the Parliament sought to establish their own complete sovereignty. They were to select the King's Council, his officials, the judges of the land. They were to control the Army and the Navy. The King's guard was to be dismissed. The laws against Catholics were to be executed, and the children of Catholics educated as Protestants. The Episcopal Church was to be reformed according to the desires of Parliament. The boldness of these propositions was startling even to Charles, who would not expect to be startled by any demand they might make. Their adoption would completely abrogate the ancient constitution, and yet, except for the provisions against the Catholics and the references to merely temporary affairs, they were no more than a recital of those principles of popular government which prevail in England to-day.

Four days later they went still further in their claim of a right to administer all the functions of Government, and that,

too, in the King's name. They declared that "what they do herein hath the stamp of royal authority, although His Majesty, seduced by evil counsel, do in his own person oppose or interrupt the same; for the King's supreme and royal pleasure is exercised and declared in this high court of law and counsel, after a more eminent and obligatory manner than it can be by personal act or resolution of his own."¹

On the 3d of June there was a vast meeting of the farmers and freeholders of Yorkshire, by the King's order, on Heyworth Moor, the gathering being variously estimated at from 40,000 to 80,000 persons. An effort to engage the sympathy of this mixed crowd wholly for the King did not fully succeed, as there were shouts all day for both King and Parliament.

The King had issued a proclamation forbidding the execution of the Militia Ordinance, but, finding his prohibition without avail, he determined to organise his own forces, and to that end he issued commissions of array, directing the trained bands to place themselves only at the disposal of officers appointed by himself.

In the meantime the Queen had sold her jewels and purchased arms in Amsterdam. She then successively applied for armed assistance from Holland, Denmark, Bavaria, France, and Spain, but received no encouragement; and the King, learning of these futile efforts, resolved then, as he should long ago have resolved, to depend upon Englishmen alone to correct whatever evils were arising from the encroachments of Englishmen. On June 13th he publicly declared that he would maintain the just privileges of Parliament, and would not make war upon them except in the necessary defence of himself and of the loyal subjects who surrounded his person. All the Peers at York, there being thirty-five, then joined in a protest that no aggressive war was intended, but that they, who were on the ground and familiar with the King's designs, would testify to the world that all his endeavours were intended to secure the true Protestant religion, the just privileges of Par-

¹ Gardiner, vol. x., p. 200.

liament, the liberty of the subject, and the law, peace, and prosperity of the kingdom.¹ This declaration of the Peers was the most important event that had occurred since the King's flight from London, for it was the first distinct notice the world received that Charles had formed a Royalist party upon firm constitutional principles, led by the nobility of the realm, who were even now prepared to defend him with their swords.

Money and plate began to pour in both at Westminster and at York. The people were taking sides, and were willing to sacrifice all their possessions in defence of the cause they espoused. So narrow was the dividing line that families were often parted by a son choosing for the Parliament and a father for the King; and it has been said that there were families owning large estates, who, out of a fear of future confiscation, would send one member to the King and another to the Parliament, so that he who might be on the winning side could protect the interests of all.

Under the commissions of array the King's officers attempted to assemble the trained bands. In some of the counties the militia obeyed them. In others they refused.

The greatest disadvantage which Charles had incurred when he fled from his capital was the abandonment of those financial resources which were his according to the law. He had but £600 when he left Whitehall, and he would long since have yielded through inanition had it not been for the generosity of two of his Catholic Peers, the Earl of Worcester and his accomplished son, Lord Herbert. By the time the King arrived at York he had received £22,000 from these devoted subjects, and when war appeared to be inevitable, Lord Herbert (afterwards, as the Marquis of Worcester, to become the inventor of that "fire-water machine" which preceded Watt's discovery of steam by more than a century) drained all the resources of his family's estates, and presented Charles with £100,000, which enabled the delighted King to prepare for war.²

¹ Clarendon, vol. v., p. 342; Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 234.

² Gardiner, vol. x., p. 207.

Charles now dismissed the Earl of Northumberland from his office of Lord High Admiral, and appointed Pennington in his place. The Parliament instantly appointed the Earl of Warwick, who arrived at the coast first, and, boarding the flag-ship, summoned the Captains of the fleet to accept him as their Admiral. Five of them stood for the King, but their crews were for the Parliament, and before the day had closed, Warwick's authority had been conceded by the entire fleet.

On July 6th the Parliament resolved to raise an army in London and the surrounding country of ten thousand men. There were some staunch Puritans in the House of Commons who were appalled at this apparent inaugural of war. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, adhering to the majority, made this significant declaration, at a moment when the war cloud was already rolling overhead, and which posterity must accept as at least a partial vindication of the concessions which Charles I. had already made to his people: "In respect of civil affairs," said D'Ewes, "I dare be bold to say that the liberty and property of the subject were never so clearly asserted to them as they are at present. The main matter then which yet remains to be secured to us is the reformation of religion."

The King was actively massing his troops in the north, and he now appointed the Earl of Lindsey General of his Army. On the 11th of July the Parliament passed a declaration that the King had actually begun the war, and on the 12th the Earl of Essex was appointed to command the Parliamentary Army. It was a stirring time at Westminster, and both Houses solemnly united in a declaration to live and die with Essex in the cause for which he had accepted their commission.¹

The great universities were with the King. Oxford sent him ten thousand pounds and Cambridge six thousand pounds. On

¹ Rushworth, vol. v., p. 16. Essex's commission contained the following instruction:

"Your Lordship is to march with such forces as you think fit, towards the army raised in His Majesty's name against the Parliament and Kingdom. And you shall use your utmost endeavours, by battle or otherwise, to rescue His Majesty's person, and the persons of the Prince and the Duke of York, out of the hands of those desperate persons who are now about them."

August 9th Charles proclaimed Essex and his officers traitors, but offered a free pardon to all who would within the week throw down their arms. Colonel George Goring, who had betrayed the King in the Army plot one year ago, now betrayed the Parliament, and held Portsmouth in the King's name. In Warwickshire the Earl of Northampton took some guns that were sent by the Parliament for the defence of Warwick Castle. The Earl of Hertford had organised an enthusiastic band of Royalists in Somerset. On August 12th the King issued a proclamation inviting his loyal subjects to rally round the royal standard, which was shortly to be set up. On the 18th the Parliament denounced as traitors all who gave assistance to the King. On the 20th the King appeared before the walls of Coventry and demanded that the gates be opened. A sally followed, and some of his followers were killed.¹

On the 22d the King arrived at Nottingham, accompanied by his two sons and his nephew, Prince Rupert, together with a proper retinue. The royal standard was presently brought from the castle and firmly erected, and its silken folds were defiantly flung to the breeze, while a blare of trumpets from the heralds proclaimed that the Civil War had begun. An inauspicious wind blew down the standard the same night.

Prince Rupert, a heroic and splendid figure, now comes upon our story, and simultaneously with his advent into England are heard the loud alarums of war.

"This Prince," says an extravagant biographer,² "began to be illustrious many ages before his birth, and we must look back into history above two thousand years, to discover the first rays of his glory." His father was Frederick, Prince Palatine of the Rhine and King of Bohemia, and his mother was Elizabeth Stuart, the beautiful sister of Charles I., called the Pearl of Britain, and beloved by one-half of Europe for her sweetness

¹ Gardiner, vol. x., p. 218. This seems to have been the first bloodshed in the war, although a man had been injured in a fray at Manchester on the 15th and afterwards died.

² Author's name unknown; MS. Lansdown 1194, vol. xxiv.; Warburton's *Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, London, 1849, three volumes, vol. i., p. 441.

and virtue and her sufferings in the Protestant War. Rupert, the young Palatine,¹ was born on the 18th of December, 1619, at Prague, and was the second son of his parents. He was ushered into the world amid the panoply and pomp of war. A knight in complete armour received the babe from the physicians' hands, and the assembled Nobles declared that he should be their future Grand Duke of Lithuania. But the fortunes of war drove the royal family out of Prague, and when the future Cavalier was one year old, his mother, then a fugitive from pursuing hosts, gave birth to her third son, the Prince Maurice (December 25, 1620). Then came those futile negotiations on the part of the English Court for the restoration of the Palatinate to this unfortunate family, which lasted through many years, and which have in part already been related. Young Rupert was sent to school at the University of Leyden, where he was "made Jesuit-proof," so that those "subtle priests with whom he had been much conversant, could never make him stagger." The bigoted and tyrannical oppressions of Austria and Spain were suddenly opposed by the mailed hand of Sweden's King, Gustavus Adolphus, and through his brilliant victories Protestantism was invincibly advanced on the Continent of Europe. The death of Gustavus on the field of Lutzen (1632) at the moment when his adversaries were dispersed in flight, deprived a victorious army of a powerful personal force. But the cause flourished; the Prince of Orange continued the warfare, and under him Rupert gained his first experience in arms. His earliest encounters on the field were marked by that gallant but reckless courage which afterwards, in the English Civil Wars, made him so illustrious a soldier and so unfortunate a commander. When he was sixteen years of age he accompanied his elder brother, Charles Louis, to England, where he was received with great favour at the Court of Charles. On his return he was made a Colonel in the Prince

¹ From *palatia*, or palaces, that the old Germans and Frankish Kings possessed in various parts of their dominions. The rulers of these palatine districts were called Palzgraves. Pfalsgrave of the Rhine was used as a title of dignity as far back as A.D. 1093.

of Orange's army, and in a fight in which he displayed great bravery was taken prisoner by the Austrians, and was for a long time confined in the fortress of Lintz, on the Danube River. Shortly after his release from this irksome captivity, the affairs of his royal uncle had reached a pass which caused the young Palatine to hasten to England, and he reached the harassed Monarch barely in time to attend the raising of the standard at Nottingham.

He was now nearly twenty-three. His portrait by Vandyke¹ presents the figure of a tall and powerful youth, full of grace and dignity. He had large, dark eyebrows, a chiselled Norman nose, a firm and handsome mouth. His "love-locks" fell below his neck. His face was clean shaven. His eye was like that of the hawk, and like the hawk was his swoop upon the battle-field, audacious, swift, and cruel. He was a beautiful and indomitable Prince, whose life at the time of his arrival in England was sufficiently marked by romance to win the adoration of those gay horsemen of the King's army over whom he was now appointed General. Rupert had great bodily vigour, quick decision, and an unfaltering but rash courage which would have made him an ideal cavalry leader if his authority had been subordinated to a capable commander. The time is coming when he must be held responsible for his share in the failure of the royal cause. Yet the strange paradox must be remembered that in all the battles in which he engaged he won his part of the fight. It was so at Edgehill, at Newbury, at Marston Moor, at Naseby. The forces which he personally opposed were put to slaughter or to flight, but while he swept like a whirlwind of death in the pursuit, disaster inevitably smote the friends who were battling behind him.

¹ Preserved in Warwick Castle.





CHAPTER XIII.

THE KING BEATS ALL BUT CROMWELL.

Cromwell Enlists at the Outbreak of the War—Subscribes to the Parliamentary Fund—Appointed Captain of a Troop of Horse—Essex Appointed General—The Puritan Army Marches out of London—The King's Rendezvous at Shrewsbury—Rupert Defeats the Roundheads at Worcester—Battle of Edgehill—The King Approaches London—Peace Proposed—The Queen Returns to England—Cromwell Organises the Eastern Association—Disperses the Royalists at Lowestoft—His Advice to Hampden for Recruiting Men—Letters—He Insists on Freedom of Religious Opinion—Routs the Cavaliers at Grantham—Death of Hampden on Chalgrove Field—Many Royalist Victories—Cromwell the Only Unbeaten Puritan—He Wins a Fight at Gainsborough—His Military Success Accounted for—His Promotion.

OLIVER CROMWELL, hitherto unknown to the English nation, now found a field in which the vast stature of his abilities was soon revealed. At the commencement of the Civil War he emerged from the obscurity of a Parliamentary career to which he was not suited, and embraced the soldier's life like one born to the profession of arms.

He placed himself promptly on the side of the Puritans by subscribing £500 for the service.¹

In the middle of July (1642), he spent his own money to purchase arms which were sent to Cambridge for the defence of the county. Through the influence of his cousin, John Hampden, he was made captain of a troop of horse. His activity and energy were conspicuous at the outset. Riding into Cambridge early in August with a few followers, he found

¹ Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 564. The Commons Journal says it was £300.

the University about to send its plate, valued at £20,000, to the King at Nottingham. He seized this fine offering and presented it to the Parliament. Two sons of Bramston, the ship-money judge, who were riding from York to London on the King's business about the middle of August, were stopped by Cromwell and made to give an account of themselves.

The intelligence that came from Nottingham of the continued accessions to the King's camp¹ induced the Parliament with grim earnestness to prepare an army.

There was a natural hesitation in drawing up the commission for the Earl of Essex as Commander-in-Chief. It was a flagrant kind of high treason compared with which anything they had previously done could have been easily overlooked. But at length Essex was appointed "Lord General for King and Parliament," with instructions to deliver the person of His Sacred Majesty from malignant traitors and evil counsellors who had seduced him. The Earl of Peterborough was General of the Ordinance. The Earl of Bedford was General of the Horse, with seventy-five troops of sixty men each. In troop sixty-seven the captain was Oliver Cromwell, the member for Cambridge.² In troop eight there was another Oliver Cromwell, cornet, a son of the member for Cambridge, and then about twenty years old.³ Hampden was a colonel; Hazelrig

¹ Vicars, a Parliamentarian, says: "The cream of the country came to meet him there" (at the setting up of the standard).

² Noble (vol. i., p. 271) relates that the express mission of the Puritan host to rescue the King from his evil counsellors led the soldiers to discuss the extremity to which they, as loyal subjects, might go in pursuit of their quest. One of these disputes was referred to Cromwell, whereupon he told them boldly that he would not cozen them by perplexed expressions in his commission to fight for King and Parliament. If he met the King in battle he would as soon discharge his pistol at him as at any private man; and if their consciences would not let them do the like, he advised them not to enlist themselves under him. This has been a popular story with modern writers, but there is no foundation for ascribing it to Cromwell, whose sentiments were not at that time so inimical to the King. A certain Robert White seems to have been the man who used these emphatic words and he was imprisoned for the disloyal utterance.—Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, vol. iii., p. 196.

³ Died of smallpox at Newport Pagnell just previous to the battle of Marston Moor. Henry Cromwell was now but fourteen years old. He joined his father in the wars two years later, and became captain in Fairfax's regiment at nineteen.

and Hollis enlisted—making three of the five members to draw their swords against the King. Many other members preferred the army to the legislature, and followed Essex; while still others joined the Royal Army at Nottingham. Thus it went on until the Parliament had mustered 15,000 men and the King about 12,000.

There is a story told in the old books of a visit which Cromwell made to Huntingdon, during which he learned of the active participation his uncle, that fine old Knight, Sir Oliver Cromwell, was taking in the Cavalier uprising. Sir Oliver was a staunch King's man, and both he and his sons served the King with fidelity and zeal throughout the war. He had collected a store of arms for the Royal Army when the future Protector came riding into his country place, followed by a stout troop of Roundheads. The old Royalist entertained but small patience for the Puritan opinions of his nephew, and received him coldly. But Oliver was not to be rebuffed. He took off his hat dutifully, and insisted on keeping it off while in his uncle's presence for near two hours, and even besought the old Knight's blessing. When this favour had been reluctantly granted, he seized all the arms and ammunition about the place, and appropriated them, together with all of Sir Oliver's plate, for the public service.¹ The Journals of the House of Commons six years later (April 17, 1648) contain an entry which makes some reparation for this harsh conduct. When the Royalist cause had compassed the ruin of every man who adhered to the King, the sequestration of the estates of this broken Knight was, through the influence of his nephew, taken off, and he was permitted to enjoy his property in the day of Puritan ascendancy.

While making the most active preparations for war, both parties continued to utter the loudest asseverations for peace. The "Paper War" grew hotter as the time for actual conflict approached. The Parliament continued to demand the control of the Church and the Sword. The King continued to insist

¹ Noble, vol. i., p. 46. *Warwick's Memoirs*.

that he had already granted all that made the liberty and happiness of his people secure.

The Earl of Essex at length felt himself ready to move. On the 9th of September, 1642, he set out from London in great state, accompanied by many members of both the Houses, and proceeded to St. Albans, where the full strength of the Parliamentary forces assembled.¹ The appearance of the troops was extremely picturesque. The old feudal notion of military individuality was still popular. Hampden's stout yeomen were arrayed in green coats; Colonel Meyrick's in grey. Lord Saye and Lord Mandeville had dressed their men in blue. Purple distinguished Lord Brooke's men; and Denzil Hollis led the London recruits in bright scarlet. The guards of Lord Essex adopted the buff leather coats, which afterwards became the *uniform* dress of the Roundheads. The Parliamentary standard was black, with a buff Bible, and the motto, in letters of gold, "GOD WITH US." The men were supplied with arms and ammunition gathered from the fortress of Hull and from the Tower of London.

The King appointed Shrewsbury for the rendezvous of his army. In the meantime Prince Rupert was making his name a terror through the land. "This Prince," says a Parliamentary historian, "was a fiery youth, and with his flying squadrons of horse burnt towns and villages, destroying the countries where he came, and indulging his soldiers in plunder and blood."² He levied ruthlessly on the possessions of all the enemies of the King, and the new word *plunder*, which had been brought into England from the wars of Gustavus Adolphus, was appropriately given to his marauding methods. He paused in his meteor-like progress long enough to send a challenge to the Earl of Essex to decide their cause by a duel; and the Earl declared his readiness to meet him.³ But King Charles I. was the only man living whose sacrifice in single combat could have appeased the nation's quarrel.

¹ Whitelock's *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 184.

² Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii., p. 90.

³ Warburton, vol. i., p. 400, where the letters are printed.

Sir John Byron was holding Worcester for the King ; and Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes and Colonel Sandys, with a force of Parliament troops, marched thither (September 24th) to drive him out. The attack was not well planned. Fiennes expected Essex to support him, but when he arrived he found Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers there, who put him to flight with a loss of four hundred slain.¹ Essex came up on the 25th with the main force, and Rupert and Byron retired with the prestige of first victory.

Late in September the King arrayed his army in the park at Shrewsbury. His forces were not so well equipped as those of the Parliament. There were more men from the organised county militia with the Parliament than with the King. But the Cavalier Lords had contributed their wealth with extraordinary liberality, and many of them rode into Shrewsbury with companies of soldiers who were dressed, armed, and mounted out of their private fortunes. Foremost in the array was the King's troop of Life Guards under Lord Bernard Stuart, and composed of all the lords and gentlemen who had no separate commands. They still wore the casque and plume of the old Knights, and each guard was laced in a glittering cuirass with gay scarf and gilded sword belt. Steel pieces protected their shoulders and arms, and mailed gauntlets their hands. Cuisses over their thighs completed the defensive armour of the Cavaliers from the top of the head to the saddle-seat. Great leather boots capable of reaching the hip, though usually worn doubled down below the knee, covered their legs. An embroidered lace collar was worn for ornament, and their curled locks fell long and loosely on their shoulders. For arms they carried long, but rather slight straight swords, half basket-hilted, and a brace of clumsy pistols ; some carried, besides, a short battle-axe at the saddle-bow.

The ordinary cavalry troops were appointed after the same general fashion, though with less magnificence. Most of them were men who were able to bring their own horses into the

¹ Whitelock, vol. i., p. 185. Clarendon, vol. iii., p. 237. Rushworth, vol. v., p. 33.

field ; others were fitted out by their great neighbours from the armouries in the old baronial halls. Harquebusier was the name applied to these yeoman-troopers, and they wore a lighter head-piece than the Cavalier, with bars of iron to protect the face, instead of a visor, and only a back- and breast-piece of steel. They carried the harquebuss or carbine, three feet in length, and a long straight sword. The dragoon was the third class of cavalry, dressed in a buff coat with long skirts, and wearing an iron skull-cap, with cheek-pieces of the same metal. His musket was slung by a leathern belt across the right shoulder. Another belt carried his powder flask, priming box, bullets, and sword. There were a few lancers, though their service was not conspicuous except at Marston Moor. This cavalry was invincible throughout the war, and it broke the opposing ranks in every charge it made ; but the high spirits of the men could never be subjected to a proper discipline, and its usual fortune was to sweep one wing of the opposing army off the field, and, while pursuing it in slaughter and pillage, leave the remaining troops to disaster at the hands of the other wing.

But the King's reliance was mainly on his infantry. The pikeman was dressed in leathern doublet, steel cap, cloth hose, and square-toed shoes. Over his coat, when it could be obtained, was a back- and breast-piece of steel, with an iron hook at the back on which to hang his steel cap while marching. The musqueteer wore a broad belt for his powder and bullets over his left shoulder, and a sword belt over his right.¹ These were the prescribed dresses of the infantry. But it must be told that there were hundreds of them who came to Shrewsbury wearing their farming clothes, and armed with nothing but the rude implements of husbandry ; and indeed, at the opening of the war, there were a few who viewed the conflict empty-handed, incapable for the time either to attack or defend.

The King began his march with about 2000 cavalry, 6000

¹ Warburton, vol. i., p. 423.

infantry, and 1500 dragoons. His artillery and his non-combatant followers swelled his total force to 12,000. The line of his march was straight to London.

Essex, as we have seen, commanded an army of 15,000 men. He sat still at Worcester until the King had advanced a day ahead of him towards the capital. This situation threw the Parliament into great terror, and there was a suspicion that a large part of the London citizens would grant aid and comfort to the King as soon as he came within safe distance. They sent messengers to Essex, commanding him to make all speed to their relief, and they themselves exhausted every effort to strengthen their defences.¹ On Sunday, October 23, 1642, Essex came in sight of the King at Edgehill, near Keinton, on the south edge of Warwickshire.

The King was astir at sunrise. Taking with him his sons, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, then in their tender youth, he ascended the hill. Prince Rupert and the Cavalier officers were already there. The King applied his prospective glass. The air was cold and clear. Far below him lay the vale of Red-Horse, extending in an unbroken plain to the town of Keinton. About one mile distant was the Lord General and the Parliamentary army, forming for the first battle of the Civil War. There was no haste on either side, and each seemed reluctant to make the first attack.

When Essex had completed his preparations he sat still on the plain. Far up on the hillside the Cavaliers began to move. But a dispute arose as to the order of battle. Lord Lindsey, the King's General, had fought with Essex in the continental wars, and he now desired to follow the Low Country rules of cautious manœuvre. Rupert, on the other hand, urged that a bold dash on the raw levies of the Roundheads would end it all. The King yielded to Rupert, and Lindsey, refusing to draw up a battle on another's plan, declared that he would fight for his King as a simple colonel at the head of his Lincoln regiment. His son, Lord Willoughby, who commanded

¹ Whitelock, vol. i., p. 186.

a troop in the Prince of Wales's regiment, refused after this affair to fight under Rupert, and he took his post at his father's side on foot. Charles then appointed Lord Ruthven, an experienced commander, to the post of General, thus, in his usual absence of tact, fostering private grievances on a most inopportune occasion. The formation of the King's line then proceeded slowly. The infantry did not arrive until eleven o'clock, and the artillery not until one. The royal troops came down the hill, and the cautious Essex permitted them to form their lines on the plain without molestation. There were earnest prayers said in both armies. In the Puritan ranks the preachers rode through every regiment, exhorting their men in God's name. Among the King's men this prayer from old Sir Jacob Astley has been preserved. "O Lord!" he said, "thou knowest how busy I must be this day. If I forget thee, do not thou forget me!" Then rising from his knees, he cried, "March on, boys!"

It was near three o'clock when three shots from the Parliament guns opened the battle. The King's artillery instantly responded. There was a blaze of fire along both lines, and the Cavaliers advanced rapidly. The King's Life Guard, impatient of restraint, had obtained permission to charge with Prince Rupert, leaving Charles under inadequate protection. As the royal cavalry rode on, Sir Faithful Fortescue and his entire regiment left the Parliamentary ranks and joined the Cavaliers, although some of his men were killed before their desertion was understood. Essex knew not how many others would behave with similar treachery, but the defection was forgotten in the assault that ensued. The Prince was charging their left wing. A thousand swords flashed in the afternoon sun. "For God and the King!" was the shout that came from every throat. The mettled steeds were urged onward with spur and voice. No foe could withstand that charge. It was the chivalry of England attacking the rude train-bands of the Midland counties. There was no resistance. Denzil Hollis and young Colonel Essex vainly strove to hold the Puritans. They turned and fled, throwing away their arms as they ran, but

even then too slow to avoid the slaughter. Tired out with chasing the fleeing enemy, the Cavaliers turned to pillage the waggon trains, and found spoil enough to complete the equipment of their army.

From the King's left wing the Cavaliers charged with equal impetuosity, and Meldrum's Puritans fled with equal haste. The forces under Sir Arthur Aston, General Wilmot, Sir John Byron, and Lord Digby routed and pursued the Puritan right wing. With victory nearly won, the King's infantry now stood unsupported in the centre. In their extreme rear was the King, almost alone. It was the Lord General's opportunity. Colonel Ballard charged in upon the royal artillery and cut down the gunners. His cry was "God with Us!" Then, wheeling round, he struck the infantry in rear. Bad generalship on the King's side was now apparent. The Cavaliers had held no reserve. Their centre was broken and put to flight with disaster equal to any that had befallen the Roundheads. The King's person was in danger. Threescore men fell dead in front of him. The Parliament men cut through the guard that had remained about him, and after a fierce fight captured the royal standard, killing Sir Edmund Verney, who bravely defended it. At the same time Lord Lindsey fell, mortally wounded, and his son, Lord Willoughby, was taken prisoner by his side. Charles had now less than a hundred of his guard with him. The Duke of Richmond and Sir John Culpepper urged the King to fly, but he sternly refused. His physical courage was beyond dispute. His fortunes were staked on this day's fight, and he would abide the result. He saw that Ruthven and Astley were still keeping the division under Essex hotly engaged. His guards continued to fight. The royal standard was floating over the heads of a body of exultant Puritans, and Captain John Smith, of the King's Life Guard, spurred his charger into the very midst of them, recaptured it, and, returning it to the King, was knighted on the spot. At this moment Prince Rupert appeared, and desired to re-form for another charge. He would probably have carried the day, as Essex, having spent all his ammunition and seeing

half his army in flight; believed himself defeated, and had taken his stand in front of his pikemen, resolved to die with them in the next assault. But night was falling on the field. Nearly six thousand on both sides had fallen. Both men and horses were spent. The battle was undecisive. The King, while not beaten, could not claim a victory. "In this doubt on all sides," says Lord Clarendon, who was with the King all day, "night, the common friend to wearied and dismayed armies, parted them."¹

Of Oliver Cromwell, we only know that he was in this battle. The part he took was not important.²

King Charles retired with his much weakened forces to the hill, while Essex, equally broken, bivouacked upon the field. The night was cold, and there was neither tree nor hedge to protect the men from the biting wind. Provisions were scarce, and wounded men died from lack of nourishment and care, while many of those who were unhurt slept supperless upon the stony ground.

The next day the two armies faced each other in sullen quiet. Essex had received during the preceding night fresh troops to the number of twenty-five hundred, including John Hampden's regiment of horse, and he was advised to renew the battle, but refused to do so.³

¹ Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 47; Rushworth, vol. v., pp. 33-35; Ludlow, vol. i., p. 51; Warwick, p. 252; May's *History of the Long Parliament*, book iii., p. 18.

² His enemy, Denzil Hollis, in his angry *Memoirs*, would have us believe that Oliver was frightened from the field at Edgehill, that he hid behind the bushes while his men stormed Basing House, and that he refused to lead the charge at Marston Moor, all of which is worthless except to refute Denzil's credibility. Walpole, referring to Hollis's charge, says: "From the extreme good sense of his lordship's (Hollis's) speeches and letters one should not have expected that weak attempt to blast Cromwell for a coward. Cæsar and Cromwell are not amenable to a commission of oyer and terminer."

³ Lord Nugent, in his *Life of Hampden*, p. 312, says that Colonel Hampden took a heroic part in this battle; but both Clarendon, a Royalist, and Ludlow, a Roundhead, say that Hampden did not come up until after nightfall, and the official relation to Parliament says that he had been left at Worcester to bring up a part of the artillery.—Rushworth, vol. v., p. 36. May says Hampden arrived with the artillery in time to fire five guns at Rupert while the Prince was plundering the waggon train. "The Parliament army had undoubtedly been ruined that day, and

On Monday evening the King retired in order, and on Wednesday he reached Banbury, where the castle and town surrendered to him without a blow, and a regiment of the Parliamentary troops joined his army. After appointing a governor and garrison for Banbury Castle, he proceeded to Woodstock, and thence to Oxford, the one entirely loyal spot in England. Here he held his quarters through the winter, while Lord Essex established himself at Warwick.

In the meantime Prince Rupert was marauding fiercely over the country, and coming dangerously near to London, so that Essex was summoned back to Westminster, where he received the thanks of Parliament and a gratuity of 5000 pounds. The Prince captured Lord Saye's house at Broughton, and at other places laid rude hands on money, clothing, forage, and goods of every variety, wheresoever he could find them. The King's cause was highly prosperous. In Yorkshire the Earl of Cumberland had raised large levies, and Lord Newcastle had beaten the Fairfaxes, Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, and the Hothams. Sir Ralph Hopton, one of the ablest of the King's generals, was recruiting a powerful army in the West. In Wales the Earl of Worcester, with a great body of the Welsh, maintained the authority of the Crown.

The Parliament sent to Scotland imploring the aid of that kingdom, and began to talk about making a treaty of peace. During the first year of the war there was a much larger degree of success on the King's side than on that of the Parliament. As soon as Charles had established himself in Oxford and sufficiently fortified the town, he began a gradual approach to London. As he neared Reading Henry Marten, the Parliament's governor, and himself a member of the House of Commons, fled to London with his garrison, leaving the place to Prince Rupert's men. At Reading the King received the Parliament's request for a safe-conduct for their committee on a

an absolute victory gained on the King's side, if Prince Rupert and his pursuing troops had been more temperate in plundering so untimely as they did, and had wheeled about to assist their distressed friends in other parts of the army."—*History of the Long Parliament*, book iii., p. 19.

treaty of peace. He instantly issued the pass, only objecting to Sir John Evelyn whom he had previously proclaimed a traitor. Thereupon the Parliament declared that it was a high breach of privilege to except any one of their House. The King then moved to Colebrooke, on the outskirts of the capital, when the Parliament, yielding to their own fears and the clamour of the citizens of London, sent again to sue for peace, passing over the breach of privilege, and asking him to appoint a place near London for the conference. He proposed Windsor Castle, or, if that were refused, he would receive their proposals even at the gates of London.¹ While these topics were under discussion the King moved on Brainford, still nearer to London, where Prince Rupert furiously attacked the Parliamentary troops, and after beating back Hampden, Hollis, and Brooke, he held the place, and captured five hundred prisoners and fifteen guns. The assault was unexpected by the Roundheads, and there was a loud outcry that the King had taken advantage of a cessation of hostilities to attack them. Essex drew near with the city forces, and the Royalists retired to Reading, and thence to Oxford for the winter. Essex advanced to Tedstock, only ten miles from Oxford, and sat down there, where the pickets of the two armies were in sight of each other for many weeks.

The King kept his troops in good humour by paying them regularly, their weekly earnings amounting to three thousand pounds.² These and other enormous expenses were met wholly by the voluntary contributions of the King's friends.

The Parliament, possessing larger resources, paid the expenses of the war with less difficulty. They had, even prior to the battle of Edgehill, confiscated all the King's revenues, which were now augmented by their seizure of all the income of the Church and by the sequestration of the property of Cavaliers.

¹ Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 58.

² Clarendon, vol. iii., p. 350. May (*Parl. History*) says the pay was eight pence a day for the foot soldiers, and sixteen pence for the cavalry; good pay for those times.

In January (1643) the Parliament sent a committee to treat for peace, but there was no spirit of accommodation on either side; the Parliament made demands which the King would not grant; and the negotiations came to nothing. While the treaty was still sitting intelligence was received that Rupert had taken Cirencester, the most important capture yet made on the King's account.

In February the Queen arrived in the north from Holland with a large escort and plenty of money and arms. She was met at Burlington by a party of Cavaliers despatched thither by the Earl of Newcastle, the brave Marquis of Montrose being with them. Henrietta Maria began a triumphal march to York, and the power of Majesty attracted to her standard hundreds of the men of Yorkshire who were loyal to the King's cause. At York, where she was most enthusiastically received by the people, she assumed a residence, being unable to journey to the King at Oxford, through fear of the many Parliamentary troops who lay between that city and York.

Charles was impatient to enjoy the society of his beloved Queen, and he despatched Prince Rupert to cut his way to the north and bring her to him. The bold Prince eagerly accepted this commission, and on his way thither he captured Birmingham and Lichfield after hard fighting. At Gloucester the King's forces, under Lord Herbert of Glamorgan, were beaten by Sir William Waller; and Rupert was recalled from his northward march by the unexpected action of Lord Essex in laying siege to Reading. Before the Prince could arrive in time to succour the garrison, the place was indiscreetly surrendered by Colonel Fielding, who was permitted to retire with his forces to Oxford. For this unsoldierly behaviour Fielding was sentenced to death, but was afterwards pardoned and fought through the war as a common soldier. In the west of England, the Royalists, under Sir Ralph Hopton, Lord Hertford, and Prince Maurice, were winning victories over the Earl of Stamford. In the north the Earl of Newcastle was disputing every inch of ground with the Fairfaxes.

Oliver Cromwell, now a colonel, had been active all winter

in organising the military forces of the "Eastern Association," composed of the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Herts, Hunts, and Lincoln. When the high sheriff of Herts attempted to read the King's commission of array, Cromwell attacked him, captured him, and sent him down to London, where the Parliament ordered him into confinement. In Norfolkshire Cromwell dispersed a party of Royalists at Lowestoft, and crushed out all open sympathy for the Cavalier cause in the territory of the Eastern Association. There were 12,000 militia organised in these counties, which Cromwell assembled at Cambridge upon information that Lord Capel intended to make an attack on the town; but, as the Royalists thought it prudent not to approach the place, Cromwell permitted them to return to their various counties, advising them to stand ready for another alarm.¹

Cromwell had said to John Hampden, after the battle of Edgehill, that the army must be recruited from better men. He continued:

"Your troops are most of them old decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their troops (*i.e.*, the Cavaliers) are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will be ever able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit; and take it not ill what I say—I know you will not,—of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go: or else you will be beaten still."

What he meant was that they should have the spirit of religion in them. Hampden replied that it was a good notion if it could be executed. Cromwell was guided by this theory in his selection of men from that moment. He was not bigoted as to the religious opinions of his men, provided only that they were not Papists. One of his recruiting officers had objected to a certain man because he was an Anabaptist, which, coming to the ears of Cromwell, drew from him the following forcible letter, outlining a broad and wise policy in the handling of men, and disclosing his own invincible views of justice and right:

¹ May's *History of the Long Parliament*, book iii., pp. 80, 81.

"TO MAJOR-GENERAL CRAWFORD: These.

"CAMBRIDGE, 10th March, 1643.

"SIR:—The complaints you preferred to my Lord against your Lieutenant-Colonel, both by Mr. Lee and your own Letters, have occasioned his stay here: my Lord being so employed, in regard of many occasions which are upon him, that he hath not been at leisure to hear him make his defence: which, in pure justice, ought to be granted him or any man before a judgment be passed upon him.

"During his abode here and absence from you, he hath acquainted me what a grief it is to him to be absent from his charge, especially now the regiment is called forth to action: and therefore, asking of me my opinion, I advised him speedily to repair unto you. Surely you are not well advised thus to turn off one so faithful to the Cause, and so able to serve you as this man is. Give me leave to tell you I cannot be of your judgment; cannot understand, if a man is notorious for wickedness, for oaths, for drinking, hath as great a share in your affections as one who fears an oath, who fears to sin—that this doth commend your election of men to serve as fit instruments in this work!

"Ay, but the man 'is an Anabaptist.' Are you sure of that? Admit he be, shall that render him incapable to serve the Public? 'He is indiscreet.' It may be so in some things: we have all human infirmities. I tell you, if you had none but such 'indiscreet men' about you, and would be pleased to use them kindly, you would find as good a fence to you as any you have yet chosen.

"Sir, the State, in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions; if they be willing faithfully to serve it,—that satisfies. I advised you formerly to bear with men of different minds from yourself: if you had done it when I advised you to it, I think you would not have had so many stumbling-blocks in your way. It may be you judge otherwise; but I tell you my mind. I desire you would receive this man into your favour and good opinion. I believe, if he follow my counsel, he will deserve no other but respect from you. Take heed of being sharp, or too easily sharpened by others, against those to whom you can object little but that they square not with you in every opinion concerning matters of religion. If there be any other offence to be charged upon him, that must in a judicial way receive determination. I know you will not think it fit my Lord should discharge an Officer of the Field but in a regulate way. I question whether you or I have any precedent for that.

"I have not farther to trouble you:—but rest, your humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."¹

This bold and tolerant doctrine was not in sympathy with the Presbyterian sentiment which was fast becoming a part of the Puritan character. Baillie, the Scottish Commissioner, writes at this period that Cromwell "is a very wise and active head, universally well beloved as religious and stout,

¹ Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 150.

but a known Independent ; the most of the soldiers who loved new ways put themselves under his command.”¹ From the start he exacted of his soldiers that they should be God-fearing and devout, and it was his art in every action to stir their religious enthusiasm until they were transported with an irresistible valour.

He was persistent and inexorable in his rule of enlisting for the war only men of good character. A society of young men and women had written to him offering to assist in the work of recruiting. He replied in these practical words :

“ I approve of the business : only I desire to advise you that your ‘ foot company ’ may be turned into a troop of horse, which indeed will, by God’s blessing, far more advantage the Cause than two or three companies of foot, especially if your men be honest godly men, which by all means I desire. I thank God for stirring-up the youth to cast in their mite, which I desire may be employed to the best advantage ; therefore my advice is, that you would employ your Twelve-score Pounds to buy pistols and saddles, and I will provide Four-score horses ; for 400 £ more will not raise a troop of horse. As for the muskets that are bought, I think the Country will take them of you. Pray raise honest godly men, and I will have them of my regiment. As for your Officers, I leave it as God shall or hath directed to choose.”²

These principles are unusual in the history of wars. The demand of most generals is for men, it matters not what kind of men so that they be able to march and carry guns. But Cromwell would have none but those he delighted to describe as “ God-fearing ” and “ sober.” This was the secret of his success, and all the fruits of his wars sprang from his knowledge of men and his power to ennoble whole regiments by stamping his own character upon them. Let us transcribe the following letter as evincing his insistence on this point, and displaying at the same time his correct military foresight and judgment :

“ To my noble Friends, SIR WILLIAM SPRING, KNIGHT and BARONET, and MAURICE BARROW, ESQUIRE : Present these.

“ CAMBRIDGE, September, 1643.

“ GENTLEMEN :

“ I have been now two days at Cambridge, in expectation to hear the fruit of your endeavours in Suffolk towards the public assistance. Believe it, you will hear

¹ Hanbury’s *Memorials of the Independents*, vol. ii., p. 450.

² Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 141.

of a storm in a few days ! You have no Infantry at all considerable ; hasten your Horses ; a few hours may undo you, neglected. I beseech you be careful what Captains of Horse you choose, what men be mounted : a few honest men are better than numbers. Some time they must have for exercise. If you choose godly honest men to be Captains of Horse, honest men will follow them ; and they will be careful to mount such.

" The King is exceedingly strong in the West. If you be able to foil a force at the first coming of it, you will have reputation ; and that is of great advantage in our affairs. God hath given it to our handful ; let us endeavour to keep it. I had rather have a plain russet-coated Captain that knows what he fights for and loves what he knows, than that which you call 'a Gentleman' and is nothing else. I honour a Gentleman that is so indeed !

" I understand Mr. Margery hath honest men will follow him : if so, be pleased to make use of him ; it much concerns your good to have conscientious men. I understand that there is an Order for me to have 3000 *l.* out of the Association ; and Essex [*i.e.* the county] hath sent their part, or near it. I assure you we need exceedingly. I hope to find your favour and respect. I protest, if it were for myself, I would not move you. That is all, from your faithful servant,

" OLIVER CROMWELL.

" P. S.—If you send such men as Essex hath sent, it will be to little purpose. Be pleased to take care of their march ; and that such may come along with them as will be able to bring them to the main Body ; and then I doubt not but we shall keep them and make good use of them. I beseech you, give countenance to Mr. Margery ! Help him in raising his Troop ; let him not want your favour in whatsoever is needful for promoting this work ; and command your servant. If he can raise the horses from Malignants, let him have your warrant : it will be of special service." ¹

By and bye there come officious persons among the committees who dislike some of the soldiers and their doings. Cromwell is vigorous and high-minded in their defence. The letter which he here answers must have contained something very much like " horse-stealing " ; his reply indicates that, and there is so such ebullition of spirit in his pen that he signs his letter and then writes again, and in the postscript mentions a beast which he himself has had assigned to his use, and which, if the owner can prove himself not a malignant Royalist, he is most anxious to pay for :

" To his honoured friends, SIR WILLIAM SPRING and MR. BARROW : These present.

" HOLLAND, LINCOLNSHIRE, 28th Sept., 1643.

" GENTLEMEN :

" It hath pleased God to bring off Sir Thomas Fairfax his Horse over the river from Hull, being about One-and-twenty Troops of Horse and Dragoons. The Lincoln-

¹ Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 147.

shire Horse laboured to hinder this work, being about Thirty-four Colours of Horse and Dragoons : we marched up to their landing place and the Lincolnshire Horse retreated.

"After they were come over, we all marched toward Holland ; and when we came to our last quarter upon the edge of Holland, the Enemy quartered within four miles of us, and kept the field all night with his whole body ; his intendment, as we conceive, was to fight us ; or hoping to interpose betwixt us and our retreat ; having received, to his Thirty-four Colors of Horse, Twenty fresh Troops, ten companies of Dragoons, and about a Thousand Foot, being General King's own Regiment. With these he attempted our guards and our quarters ; and, if God had not been merciful, had ruined us before we had known of it ; the Five Troops we set to keep the watch failing much of their duty. But we got to horse, and retreated in good order, with the safety of all our Horse of the Association ; not losing four of them that I hear of, and we got five of theirs. And for this we are exceedingly bound to the goodness of God, who brought our troops off with so little loss.

"I write unto you to acquaint you with this ; the rather that God may be acknowledged ; and that you may help forward, in sending such force away unto us as lie unprofitably in your country. And especially that Troop of Captain Margery's, which surely would not be wanting, now we so much need it !

"I hear there hath been much exception taken to Captain Margery and his officers for taking of horses. I am sorry you should discountenance those who (not to make benefit to themselves, but to serve their Country) are willing to venture their lives, and to purchase to themselves the displeasure of bad men, that they may do a Public benefit. I undertake not to justify all Captain Margery's actions : but his own conscience knows whether he hath taken the horses of any but Malignants ; and it were somewhat too hard to put it upon the consciences of your fellow Deputy Lieutenants, whether they had not freed the horses of known Malignants ? A fault not less, considering the sad estate of this Kingdom, than to take a horse from a known honest man ; the offence being against the Public, which is a considerable aggravation ! I know not the measure every one takes of Malignants. I think it is not fit Captain Margery should be the judge ; but if he, in this taking of horses, hath observed the plain character of a Malignant, and cannot be charged for one horse otherwise taken, it had been better that some of the bitterness wherewith he and his have been followed had been spared ! The horses that his Cornet Boulry took, he will put himself upon that issue for them all.

"If these men be accounted 'troublesome to the Country,' I shall be glad you would send them all to me. I'll bid them welcome. And when they have fought for you, and endured some other difficulties of war which your 'honest' men will hardly bear, I pray you then let them go for honest men ! I protest unto you, many of those men which are of your Country's choosing, under Captain Johnson, are so far from serving you, that, were it not that I have honest Troops to master them, although they be well paid, yet they are so mutinous that I may justly fear they would cut my throat ! Gentlemen, it may be it provokes some spirits to see such plain men made Captains of Horse. It had been well that men of honour and birth had entered into these employments ;—but why do they not appear ? Who would have hindered them ? But seeing it was necessary the work must go on, better plain men than none ; but best to have men patient of wants, faithful and

conscientious in their employment. And such, I hope, these will approve themselves to be. Let them therefore, if I be thought worthy of any favour, leave your Country with your good wishes and a blessing. I am confident they will be well bestowed. And I believe before it be long, you will be in their debt; and then it will not be hard to quit scores.

"What arms you can furnish them withal, I beseech you do it. I have hitherto found your kindness great to me; I know not what I have done to lose it; I love it so well, and price it so high, that I would do my best to gain more. You have the assured affection of your most humble and faithful servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"P. S.—I understand there were some exceptions taken at a Horse that was sent to me, which was seized out of the hands of one Mr. Goldsmith of Wilby. If he be not by you judged a Malignant, and that you do not approve of my having the Horse, I shall as willingly return him again as you shall desire. And therefore, I pray you, signify your pleasure to me herein under your hands. Not that I would, for ten thousand horses, have the Horse to my own private benefit, saving to make use of him for the Public; for I will most gladly return the value of him to the State. If the Gentleman stand clear in your judgments, I beg it as a special favour that, if the Gentleman be freely willing to let me have him for my money, let him set his own price; I shall very justly return him the money. Or if he be unwilling to part with him, but keeps him for his own pleasure, be pleased to send me an answer thereof; I shall instantly return him his Horse; and do it with a great deal more satisfaction to myself than keep him. Therefore I beg it of you to satisfy my desire in this last request; it shall exceedingly oblige me to you. If you do it not, I shall rest very unsatisfied, and the Horse will be a burden to me so long as I keep him." ¹

Cromwell received his training in the art of war from Colonel Dalbier, a soldier who had fought in the Low Countries, and who gave vast assistance to Oliver in drilling and marching his recruits. But the real discipline of war they received from Cromwell himself. At first unskilful in handling their arms and managing their horses, they soon became, by diligence and industry, excellent soldiers. Cromwell required them daily to look after, feed, and groom their horses, and, on occasion, to lie with them upon the ground. He taught them to keep their arms bright and clean, and to have them ready for service; to choose the best armour, and to be armed for action when danger was impending.² At the outbreak of the war he devised a stratagem to test their spirit. Twelve of his men were, un-

¹ Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 151.

² Harris, *Life of Cromwell*, p. 82.

known to their fellows, placed in ambush and the rest of the troops were marched thither. At a signal the twelve charged furiously with trumpet blast and battle cry upon the unsuspecting soldiers, who were thrown into much confusion, and many of them turned and fled. When they paused for breath and discovered that the attack was made by their own comrades, they were so overcome with shame that they all vowed never to run again; and they never did.¹

Sir Philip Warwick, the Royalist writer, says that Cromwell taught his men, "as they too readily taught themselves, that they engaged for God, when he led them against His vicegerent, the King; and where this opinion met with a natural courage, it made them the bolder, and too often the crueller. . . . And these men, habited more to spiritual pride than carnal riot or intemperance, so consequently having been industrious and active in their former callings and professions, where natural courage wanted, zeal supplied its place; and at first they chose rather to die than fly; and custom removed fear of danger."² And Lord Clarendon, who mournfully characterises the King's army, at the time that Lord Hopton was appointed its commander, as "a dissolute, undisciplined, wicked, beaten army," says that Cromwell's host was "an army whose order and discipline, whose sobriety and manners, whose courage and success hath made it famous and terrible over the world."

One evening in May (1642), Cromwell came unexpectedly upon a party of Royalists, near Grantham. Hastily drawing up his men, he charged and routed the Cavaliers, pursuing them for two miles, slaying many and taking forty-five prisoners.³

The war feeling was growing stronger in the Parliament. On May 10th the King proposed a peace. The Parliament com-

¹ Heath's *Flagellum*, p. 24; *The Perfect Politician*, p. 4.

² *Memoirs*, p. 279.

³ Cromwell's account, Carlyle, vol. i., p. 132.

There is a letter from Secretary Nicholas to Prince Rupert, dated April 6, 1643, which speaks of intelligence that Cromwell is to join Essex with 4000 Cambridge-shire troops. Thus soon was the future Protector beginning to attract attention in arms.—Warburton, vol. ii., p. 159.

mitted his messenger to prison, and proceeded to impeach the Queen of high treason for aiding the King in his warfare.¹

On May 20th Sir Thomas Fairfax defeated the Royalists at Wakefield under General (Lord) Goring, and captured Goring and 1500 of his men.² Goring was soon afterwards exchanged and resumed his important commands in the King's army.

On Sunday, June 18, 1643, that disastrous fight took place in which John Hampden met his death. Prince Rupert was making one of his swift dashes over the country and Hampden sought to stop him. An engagement occurred at Chalgrove Field in which Rupert had the advantage of numbers. The fight was fierce, and, while spurring his horse into the thickest part of the battle, the brave Puritan received two carbine balls in the shoulder. Feeling that he was badly wounded, he turned and rode off the field in the direction of his father-in-law's house. But the Cavaliers covered the ground between, and he took the way to Thame. Coming to a brook which it was necessary for him to cross, he spurred his horse and cleared it at a leap, by this time suffering intense agony from his wound. Almost fainting, he reached Thame, and was taken to the house of Ezekiel Browne, where his wounds were dressed. As soon as this was done, he dictated letters to the Parliament urging them to a more active military policy. He felt sure that while Essex continued his Fabian tactics the war would be fatal to Puritan hopes; and he held grave fears that the close proximity to London of the King's victorious troops was a standing menace to the safety of the capital. After six days of great pain his dissolution drew near. He partook of the Lord's Supper, declaring that "though he could not away with the governance of the Church by Bishops, and did utterly abominate the scandalous lives of some clergymen, he thought its doctrine in the greater part primitive and conformable to God's word, as in Holy Scriptures revealed." As he felt his spirit passing away, he turned to die in prayer. "O Lord God of

¹ Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 245; Rushworth, vol. v., p. 321.

² Rushworth, vol. v., p. 270.

Hosts," he said, in a fast sinking voice, "great is thy mercy, just and holy are thy dealings to us sinful men. Save me, O Lord, if it be thy good will, from the jaws of death. Pardon my manifold transgressions. O Lord, save my bleeding country. Lord Jesus, receive my soul!" Thus died Hampden.

He was the hope of England, and the most beloved man in the King's dominions. Already there had been talk of putting him in Essex's place as Lord General, and if this had been done he doubtless possessed sufficient vigour and ability to push the war to a speedy conclusion. He was the one altogether pure and upright patriot of that age, doing what he did only for the sake of his country. To his participation in the Parliament's designs, more than to that of any other man, was due that large support which the cause of modern liberty received from the nation. His body was carried from Thame to Hampden, and deposited with great military honours, and amid universal sorrow, in his father's tomb.¹ He was fifty years old at his death.

The death of Hampden threw the Parliament party into consternation, and it was followed by a series of disasters which reduced their hopes to the lowest ebb. On July 5th Sir William Waller, a general of whom the Roundheads expected so much that they foolishly named him William the Conqueror, engaged Sir Ralph Hopton and Prince Maurice at Lansdown, and after a well-fought and sanguinary but indecisive action, both armies were glad to welcome the night. Eight days later, Lord Wilmot commanding the Royalists, another battle was fought on Roundway Down, where Waller was badly beaten and his army dispersed. Lord Essex lay only ten miles away, yet he permitted Wilmot to lead his reinforcements from Oxford, a distance of thirty miles, to Roundway, without molestation. Henrietta Maria had marched the length of the kingdom from York with three thousand well-appointed troops, and was met at Edgehill by the delighted King, together with Prince Rupert and a gay throng of Cavaliers, who conveyed her to Oxford.

¹ Lord Nugent's *Life of Hampden*. Forster's *Statesmen*, p. 262.

The Royalists then besieged Bristol, the second city in the kingdom, held for the Parliament by Nathaniel Fiennes; and after an assault which left the field strewn with the bodies of the Cavaliers, Fiennes, in a moment of weakness, surrendered to Prince Rupert and the Marquis of Hertford.¹ This loss of Bristol, with the defeat of Waller in the west, and of Fairfax at Bramham Moor, and again at Adderton Moor, in the north, produced a great discouragement among the Roundhead party. Essex was heaped with reproaches for having failed to harass the Queen's progress to Oxford, insomuch that he drew off his army to Uxbridge, and seemed to abandon any intention to fight the King for the present.

The Parliament had tried its favourites, and they had failed. They waited for a new deliverer, and a fight at Gainsborough on the 27th of July, 1643, in a time of general defeat, brought Oliver Cromwell before the eyes of all men as a victorious soldier. The Roundhead forces consisted of some of Cromwell's men in the Eastern Association, by this time a well-drilled organisation. The Cavaliers were commanded by young Charles Cavendish, second son to the Earl of Devonshire. After the first charge it became a hand-to-hand fight. "We disputed it," says Cromwell, "with our swords and pistols a pretty time." The Royalist foot were put to flight, and the Roundheads pursued them for five miles. Cromwell remained on the ground with his regiment to engage the reserve. Cavendish led this body in person, and with great courage, putting some Lincolnshire troops to flight. Cromwell then charged in on his rear, and forced him down a steep declivity, fighting at every step, until the young Cavalier found himself fast in a quagmire with only a handful of his followers. In this situation, scorning to ask quarter, he fell from a sword-thrust given by Cromwell's lieutenant, and expired.²

The defeat and death of so considerable a person, naturally caused Cromwell to be a subject of universal talk. "This was

¹ Fiennes was condemned to death for this surrender, but was afterwards reprieved and allowed to escape. Rushworth, vol. v., p. 284.

² Cromwell's account, *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 136.

the beginning of his great fortunes," says Whitelock, "and now he began to appear in the world." His energy and spirit at this time are perceived in his letters. He was fully conscious of the ill-fortunes of his party, and he rightly laid the blame on the inactive military policy. He wrote vigorous letters to those in charge of the Eastern Association, urging them always to procure men, money, and supplies. He begins his report of the fight with Cavendish thus:

"HUNTINGDON, 31st July, 1643.

"GENTLEMEN,

"No man desires more to present you with encouragement than myself, because of the forwardness I find in you,—to your honour be it spoken, to promote this great Cause. And truly God follows us with encouragements, who is the God of blessings ;—and I beseech you let Him not lose His blessings upon us ! They come in season, and with all the advantages of heartening ; as if God should say, 'Up and be doing, and I will stand by you, and help you !' There is nothing to be feared but our own sin sloth."

After describing with much detail the military events which we have briefly recounted, he draws to a conclusion in this manner :

"Thus you have this true relation, as short as I could. What you are to do upon it, is next to be considered. If I could speak words to pierce your hearts with the sense of our and your condition, I would ! If you will raise 2000 Foot at present to encounter this army of Newcastle's, to raise the siege, and to enable us to fight him,—we doubt not, by the grace of God, but that we shall be able to relieve the Town, and beat the enemy on the other side of Trent. Whereas if somewhat be not done in this, you will see Newcastle's Army march up into your bowels ; being now, as it is, on this side Trent. I know it will be difficult to raise thus many in so short time : but let me assure you, it 's necessary, and therefore to be done. At least do what you may, with all possible expedition ! I would I had the happiness to speak with one of you :—truly I cannot come over, but must attend my charge ; the Enemy is vigilant. The Lord direct you what to do. Gentlemen, I am your faithful servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." ¹

Already he was teaching his men the discipline of self-control, the forgetfulness of fear, which in the end was to win for them the memorable name of Ironsides. A newspaper of that time (May, 1643) notes that : "As for Colonel Cromwell, he hath

¹ Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 136.

2000 brave men, well disciplined ; and no man swears but he pays his twelve-pence ; if he be drunk, he is set in the stocks, or worse ; if one calls the other Roundhead he is cashiered.”¹ This was the foundation of piety which he had told John Hampden it was necessary to build their army on in order to vanquish the men of honour on the King’s side. Wherever he came in contact with men he seemed to impress a part of his own fervid and indomitable courage upon them, and thereby to make them straightway better soldiers.

In August, Lord Kimbolton, or Mandeville, now become the Earl of Manchester,—whose name as a member of the House of Lords had been included in the warrant for the arrest of the five members,—was appointed to the command of the Eastern Association, and Cromwell soon became his second in command. While the Roundhead soldiers under other leaders were deserting, or exhibiting a bad and mutinous spirit, Cromwell’s men, unpaid and suffering for shoes and clothing, were maintaining a hearty enthusiasm. His great control over his men—the ascendancy, by the strong force of character, of one man over many—is shown in this extract from a letter to Oliver St. John imploring him for money to pay his troops. The comparison which is drawn between his men and those of Lord Manchester is striking :

“Of all men I should not trouble you with money matters,—did not the heavy necessities my Troops are in, press me beyond measure. I am neglected exceedingly ! I am now ready for my march towards the Enemy ; who hath entrenched himself over against Hull, my Lord Newcastle having besieged the Town. Many of my Lord Manchester’s Troops are come to me : very bad and mutinous, not to be confided in ;—they paid to a week almost ; mine nowise provided-for to support them, except by the poor Sequestrations of the County of Huntingdon ! My Troops increase. I have a lovely company ; you would respect them, did you know them. They are no ‘Anabaptists’ ; they are honest, sober Christians ;—they expect to be used as men !”²

And then he says that he has spent already eleven or twelve hundred pounds out of his private funds for the expenses of

¹ *Cromwelliana* (Westminster, 1810), p. 5.

² Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 149.

the war, and can raise no further supply until the counties contribute for the pay of his men.

In this manner opposition to the tyranny of the Crown, which had, in a ruder age, produced Wat Tyler and Jack Cade, was now, after centuries of progress, when guided by a better understanding of popular rights, manifesting itself irresistibly and with permanent force in the career of the modern deliverer, Oliver Cromwell.

In June (1643) Sir John Hotham, whose refusal to admit the King to Hull had incensed the Royalists, was detected in a treasonable correspondence with the Earl of Newcastle, and, after attempting to escape, was captured, tried before a Parliamentary tribunal, and executed. His son, young John Hotham, was also executed for a similar offence about the same time.¹

¹ Rushworth, vol. v., pp. 276, 743.





CHAPTER XIV.

MARSTON MOOR.

Dissensions in the King's Army—Decline of the War Spirit in the Parliamentary Army—Pym and Vane Resolve to Push the War—The English Puritans Subscribe the Scottish Covenant—First Battle of Newbury—Cromwell's Fight at Winceby—Death of Pym—Charles Calls a Parliament at Oxford—England Invaded by the Scots—The Cavaliers Alarmed—Romantic History of the Countess of Derby—Rupert Rescues her from the Roundheads—The King and Queen Part Forever—Fight at Cropredy Bridge—Rupert Raises the Siege of York—Battle of Marston Moor—Cromwell Wins the Day after Three Parliamentary Generals had Fled the Field.

THERE now began to be factions in the King's army, and the gay Cavaliers at Oxford were intriguing for place and power. After the capture of Bristol, a dispute arose between Prince Rupert and the Marquis of Hertford as to the governorship of the city. The Prince claimed the post for himself, while Lord Hertford desired the appointment for Sir Ralph Hopton. The contention waxed so warm that Charles felt impelled to go in person to Bristol, where, by a compromise that made no one happy, he named Rupert as Governor, but appointed Sir Ralph Hopton Lieutenant-Governor to enjoy the powers pertaining to the superior title. It must be said that in the strife over his appointment Sir Ralph took no part, and any feeling that may have been engendered in his breast was appeased when, within a few days, he was made Lord Hopton by his grateful King.¹

A question of the precedence of the Palatine Princes then arose. Rupert, as a prince of the royal blood, would receive

¹ Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 308.

orders from no one but the King, and this resolution interfered with the usefulness of the cavalry as a part of the whole army under Lord Brentford. The policy of massing the King's troops for a march to London was discussed in the royal council, and was put aside because in that case Prince Maurice could have been only a private Colonel. Prince Maurice, indeed, was not quite satisfied that a nephew to the King should be Lieutenant-General to a Marquis; and with the aid of Rupert and his friends he prevailed on Charles to attach the Marquis of Hertford to his private service as a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, sending the Earl of Carnarvon into the west with the horse and dragoons, and permitting Maurice to follow with the foot a day behind.¹ Lord Hopton remained at Bristol, and Lord Hertford at Oxford.

The King now marched to Gloucester, and on the 10th of August, after summoning it to surrender and receiving a defiant reply, he sat down before it. This was perhaps his greatest mistake in the war. His successes had filled the citizens of London with alarm. A mob of women had marched to Westminster and shrieked for the sacrifice of John Pym. The King's oft-repeated overtures to treat for peace had been recounted in every street. The Lords had implored the Commons to effect a treaty. The soldiers themselves had lost their military spirit, the Lord General seemingly to a greater extent than any others.² And a large party in the House of Commons had joined their voices to the cry for peace. Indeed, many members of both Houses had lately fled to the King at Oxford. But the spirit that had started this revolution was not so easily discouraged. John Pym, Sir Harry Vane, and a few others were able to hold in check what seemed to be a universal demand for peace; and while the subject was still in earnest controversy they all learned that the King had marched to Gloucester instead of London, and they breathed freely once more. The war feeling was revived. It was resolved to enlist further recruits for Essex and Waller, and Lord Manchester was em-

¹ Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 311.

² Rushworth, vol. v., p. 290.

powered to raise an army in the Eastern Association. The negotiations for Scottish assistance were pressed energetically, and under Vane's direction the English Parliament agreed to sign the Scottish Covenant in return for military succour from beyond the Tweed.

When the King had sat before Gloucester for sixteen days, Essex, who had employed himself with unaccustomed zeal in recruiting men, felt his army strong enough to march to its relief. On the 5th of September the beleaguered city saw his signal fires, and the King, whose cavalry had harassed the Lord General's progress, but who was unwilling to risk a battle, drew off his forces. Essex was received with acclamations of joy, and after a fitting celebration of the rescue, he marched back for London. The King followed him briskly, and at Newbury (September 20th) forced him to a battle. Essex again, as at Edgehill, used his Low Country tactics, and stood on the defensive through the action. His horse was dispersed, but his infantry, composed chiefly of the well-drilled train-bands of London, presented their pikes resistlessly to every charge, preserving an unbroken line, and leaving the issue not decided. The next day the Earl proceeded on towards London, Prince Rupert distressing his rear for a considerable distance. He stopped to refresh his men at Reading and thence entered London, where he was received with the honours of a conqueror. The King, following him, took Reading again without resistance, and leaving a garrison there, returned to Oxford with his army.¹

Charles lost some of the best of his chivalry at Newbury, among the slain being the Earl of Sunderland, the Earl of Carnarvon, and, especially, the accomplished Lord Viscount Falkland, upon whose death Clarendon pathetically observes, "that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed Civil War than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity."²

¹ Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 347. May, *Hist. Long Parl.*, book iii., p. 108.

² Falkland had put on a clean shirt before the fight began, and announced to his friends that he desired to be put out of the trouble and expected to die.—Rushworth, vol. v., p. 294.

Upon the return of Essex to London the Parliament subscribed the Scottish Covenant, and copies for the signatures of the people were immediately distributed through all those parts of England that were under Puritan control. This proceeding created an extraordinary impression on the minds of Englishmen. The Covenant was a visible injection of religion into the existing strife, and all sectarian differences were put aside in the enthusiasm with which men and women eagerly signed their names to it. From the moment in which the Solemn League and Covenant was officially presented to the people, the subject of religion became uppermost in the minds of the Puritans; and the subject of unjust oppressions in the Government, out of which the war had avowedly grown, assumed a minor importance.

There was fine politics in the adoption of the Covenant, and that astute Puritan, young Sir Harry Vane, had led in the negotiations which secured this new source of inspiration from Scotland. Vane was an Independent; so were Cromwell and many of the other Parliamentary leaders; and as Independents they were jealous of the ascendancy of the Presbyterians. Yet they one and all signed the Presbyterian Covenant, doubtless justifying their conduct as a necessary measure of the war. Henceforward the Parliamentary plea was the protection of the Protestant religion. In this Covenant, the subscribers engaged mutually to defend each other against all opponents; bound themselves to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of Popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of Parliaments, together with the King's authority, and to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants.¹ The Scottish Parliament immediately began to raise an army. The King, apprised of their design, cast an eye to his military forces in Ireland.

The Cavaliers continued to win some light successes. Prince Maurice had taken Exeter and Dartmouth, and the King's power was secure in the west. Prince Rupert had captured

¹ Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 478. Clarendon, vol. iii., p. 373.

Bedford in the midland. The Earl of Newcastle was laying siege to Hull in the north.

Lincolnshire had recently (September 20, 1643) become a part of the Eastern Association; and Manchester and Cromwell were working with their usual energy to clear the county of Royalist troops, as they had already cleared every other county in the territory under their charge. At Winceby, a small hamlet among the Wolds, a fight occurred on October 11th between their forces and a large body of Royalists. The Cavalier cry was "Cavendish," in memory of him who had fallen in the bog at Gainsborough. That of the Roundheads was "Truth and Peace." The Parliament charge was led by Cromwell impetuously; but, as he advanced in full career, his horse was killed and fell upon him. Endeavouring to rise, he was knocked down by Sir Ingram Hopton, to whose sword his life would have been yielded up, but for the prompt and gallant succour of his men. Being quickly rescued from his peril he mounted a trooper's horse, and shouting "Truth and Peace," pressed onward. The fury of his assault forced the Royalists back on their reserves in great disorder; the combat was sharp and bloody; and soon the Cavaliers fled away before the indomitable Puritan, but not until they had left their Commander, Sir Ingram Hopton, dead on the field, and near one thousand of their fellows killed or taken.¹

Cromwell had been appointed Governor of Ely, and the services in the Cathedral there under the English ritual were exceedingly offensive to the Puritans of the place. Cromwell accordingly addressed a note to the rector, the Reverend Mr. Hitch, in these sharp words:

"ELY, 10th January, 1643.

"Mr. HITCH:

"Lest the Soldiers should, in any tumultuary or disorderly way, attempt the reformation of the Cathedral Church, I require you to forbear altogether your choir service, so unedifying and offensive; and this as you shall answer it, if any disorder should arise thereupon.

"I advise you to catechise, and read and expound the Scripture to the people; not doubting but the Parliament, with the advice of the Assembly of Divines, will

¹ Rushworth, vol. v., p. 281.

direct you further. I desire your Sermons too, where usually they have been, but more frequent.

"Your loving friend,

"OLIVER CROMWELL,"¹

But the rector gave it no attention. This brought Cromwell one day into the church with a file of soldiers, and he discovered Mr. Hitch in the raised pulpit chanting the choir service to the surpliced attendants. Cromwell never removed his hat. "I am a man under authority," he cried, "and am commanded to dismiss this assembly." The rector attempted to be oblivious of his presence, and proceeded with the service: "As it was in the beginning!" "Leave off your fooling, and come down, Sir!" thundered the Puritan leader in a voice which brought Mr. Hitch down straightway, and the choir service was absent from those parts for many years thereafter.

Towards the close of the year the Puritan party was shocked by the death of John Pym (December 8, 1643).² Pym was the ablest member of that famous Parliament, and he had moulded the opinion of his associates until their opposition to the Crown resulted in the Civil War. From the outset of his public life until his eyes closed forever on the world, he was an implacable foe of the ancient monarchical government. He used his power in the great council of the nation to strike down every defender of the Prerogative of the Crown. He framed those measures which forced the King to grant concessions that brought the constitution into resemblance to its modern form. Swayed by the popular mistrust of the King's sincerity, and by his own uncompromising and imperious will, he led his party, under cold expressions of loyalty and respect, in a series of addresses on the never-ceasing plea of Privilege, which finally frightened Charles out of his capital. Controlling the public sentiment of London, and supported by the City Corporation with its immense financial resources, his faith in the ultimate success of the Parliament's cause never wavered for an instant; and the cry of Peace, which was ingeminated at times by every other man in England, had no charm for his ear. When Essex

¹ Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 158.

² New Style. Under the Old Style the year closed with the 25th of March.

himself was longing for peace, Pym went to his tent, and besought him to continue the war until the last resource was spent.

Death came to him in perfect tranquillity. His body, escorted by the two Houses, was carried to Westminster Abbey on the shoulders of ten of his chief associates in the House of Commons, among them, Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazelrig, young Sir Harry Vane, Oliver St. John, and William Strode. Three of them were of the five members. Hampden had passed away, and his own death occurred just at the time when the fortunes of his party began to rise.

During the winter the King summoned to Oxford all the members of either House who adhered to his cause,¹ and established them in Parliament. The House of Lords was numerically larger than that at Westminster, notwithstanding that many of the Cavalier Lords were employed in military service in different parts of the country. The House of Commons consisted of near one hundred and forty members, about one-half the number of those at Westminster. The King again proposed a peace, but the Parliament at Westminster refused to treat.²

In January, 1644, a Scottish army of about 20,000 men under the command of General Leslie (sometime since made Earl of Leven) invaded England. This was a fearful menace to the royal cause, and it carried alarm to the heart of every Cavalier. The Marquis of Newcastle gathered a large army, and marched north to fight Leslie, leaving Colonel John Bellasis in charge of affairs in Yorkshire. Sir Thomas Fairfax attacked Bellasis and captured him and the larger part of his men. This defeat put York in danger, and Newcastle returned in all haste to that city, leaving the way open for the Scots to advance whither they pleased.

The King now received some troops from Ireland, who, under Lord Biran, took the castles of Hawarden, Beeston, Acton, and Deddington. Sir Thomas Fairfax, a noted general

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 559.

² Clarendon, vol. iii., p. 449.

since his victory over Bellasis, met them at Nantwich, and totally defeated them, capturing Colonel George Monk, who, after suffering a short captivity, engaged in the service of the Parliament, and lived to become illustrious by restoring Charles II. to his throne.

The Cavalier siege of Hull was abandoned, Newcastle being forced to prepare himself for a siege at York. The Roundheads threatened Newark, and Prince Rupert hastened there from Oxford and beat them off. After relieving Newark the Prince began his march northward for the relief of York. On his way thither he paused to succour a distressed lady, whose history is one of the most romantic of that age.

Charlotte de la Tremouille, Countess of Derby, was at Lathom House, when, on the 22d of February, 1644, Sir William Waller summoned her to surrender that stately castle to his army. Her husband, the Earl of Derby, was absent in the King's military service, and was unable to come to her relief. She was a lady of the most eminent virtue and of rare courage, and she returned a defiant answer to the summons. Waller laid siege to the castle, leaving Colonel Rigby in charge, and passed on with the principal part of his army. The Countess, by conducting a number of parleys with Rigby, managed to gain a sufficient time to arrange for her defence, and to strengthen and recruit her little garrison. The walls of the great mansion were high and strong, being six feet in thickness; and seven lofty towers and two lesser ones added to their strength, besides the great gate, and the Eagle Tower, high over all, in the centre of the building. The house itself stood so low, that the shots from the Roundhead guns on the surrounding slopes could scarcely reach it. Around the walls was a wide moat with strong palisades, and it could be crossed only over the bridge at the postern gates, which were now guarded by trusty sentinels. The garrison consisted of three hundred men, over which the Countess had appointed six captains, arraying herself in semi-armour as their commander-in-chief. The house was stocked with arms and provisions, and was well appointed to endure a siege.

The besieging force numbered about three thousand, and the first gun was fired on the 12th of March. There was but one cannon that wrought any considerable damage to the castle, and one night the Countess sallied out with a party who cut their way to this gun, hoisted it on a wheeled carriage which they had brought with them, and returned with it in triumph to the garrison. The Roundheads were unable to make their muskets tell on the discreet guards on the walls, but suffered many losses themselves from the well-aimed shots of the garrison. On the 23d of May, Rigby, who was apprehensive of Rupert's approach, sent his final summons to the Countess, demanding that she and her children submit themselves to the mercy of the Parliament. She replied that she would set her castle on fire and perish in the flames before she would accept the mercies of the wicked and cruel! Rigby assaulted the castle, but was unable to make any impression on its walls. The conflict was growing hotter and the beautiful defender's peril was momentarily increasing, when Prince Rupert and the Earl of Derby opportunely arrived and put the Puritans to flight. The gallant Prince pursued them to Bolton and gave them battle, securing a full revenge for the discomforts which the Countess had sustained in resisting this memorable siege for more than three months.¹

The Marquis of Montrose arrived from Scotland to pay homage to King Charles, and received a commission to return to Scotland and conduct a war of diversion there, which might make Leven wish himself and his troops at home. Lord Hop-ton, with an army of nearly six thousand men, marched into the west after Sir William Waller, and captured Arundel Castle. He then offered battle to Waller, and was severely beaten at Cheriton, on March 29, 1644.

The Queen, being now in delicate health, left Oxford. The King accompanied her as far as Bath, where, on the 3d of April, 1644, the loving and faithful pair separated with streaming eyes, never to meet on earth again. The Queen was then

¹ Warburton, vol. ii., p. 426. At Wentworth House there is a portrait of this lady in helmet and breast-piece, holding a spear in her hand.

conveyed to Exeter, and on the 16th of June she gave birth to a daughter. Two weeks later, while the Queen was extremely ill, the Earl of Essex sat down before Exeter, and began a siege. Henrietta Maria sent to him, beseeching his permission to retire to Bath for the completion of her health, to which the Lord General made answer: "That it was his intention to escort Her Majesty to London, where her presence was required to answer to Parliament for having levied war in England." The suffering Queen then made her escape from the city in disguise, and after many painful adventures she sailed for France.¹ In a few days after her departure, Charles, who was hastening to her succour, drew near, and Essex retired.

When the King returned to Oxford, Essex and Waller approached from the opposite direction in such a way as they would surely have taken him prisoner; but he passed out during the night and escaped between their two armies. Essex then marched into the west, and drove Prince Maurice away from Lyme, which he had been besieging, while Waller followed the King.

The Parliamentary forces under Waller came up with the King on the 29th of June, and Charles attacked and defeated them at Cropredy Bridge, distinguishing himself by his usual bravery and correct military judgment when in personal command. While Waller retreated to recruit his army, the King marched West, instructing Hopton to follow him with all the men that could be spared from Bristol, and intending to form a junction with the army of Prince Maurice, and then fall on Essex and destroy him. On July 15th he arrived at Bath, but long ere that he received the news of Marston Moor, a battle which resulted in the permanent and rapid decline of his fortunes.

The Scottish troops under the Earl of Leven, united with the forces of Lord Fairfax, had sat down before York twenty thousand strong; and they were soon joined by the forces of the Eastern Association, led by the Earl of Manchester and

¹ Strickland's *Lives of the Queens*, vol. iv., p. 232.

Oliver Cromwell, and consisting of six thousand foot and three thousand horse, a total of twenty-nine thousand men. Prince Rupert approached York with an army that cannot be so accurately counted. Cromwell says it amounted to twenty thousand men at Marston Moor; it was near that number, which included about two thousand five hundred men of Newcastle's garrison. Lord Fairfax had endeavoured to intercept the Prince, and had drawn up his men on Hessam Moor in a manner that presented an impassable barrier to the Cavaliers. But Rupert, by a brilliant stratagem that was not usual in his impulsive methods, discovered a ford in the Ouse River, which was unknown to the allies, crossed over with his army after dark, and entered York on another side on the night of July 1, 1644.

There were dissensions among the Scottish and English factions in the Parliament armies, Fairfax and Cromwell desiring to offer battle, while Leven stood out for a retreat. Leven's counsel was reluctantly accepted, and the army took up its winding march in the direction of Long Marston village, about five miles west of York.

At the same instant a discussion of like importance was taking place between Prince Rupert and the Marquis of Newcastle behind the walls of York. The Marquis urged that the Roundheads be permitted to retreat, arguing correctly that their abandonment of the siege would be equal to the prestige of a victory. But the impetuous Prince pleaded that he had received written instructions from the King to fight the rebellious Scots, and he insisted upon instantly following the Puritans with all the available forces, and giving them battle.

It was on July 2, 1644, and the Roundheads had gone as far as Marston Moor, when Sir Thomas Fairfax, who commanded the rear of the column, began to feel the hot breath of Rupert's pursuit. The alarm was sent forward—the Scots were far in advance—and quick preparations were made to form the armies in the line of battle. The Earl of Leven, as Commander-in-chief, held the reserve of horse in the rear of the centre, which was composed of two long lines of Scottish infantry under Lord Fairfax. The right wing was commanded

by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and embraced, beside his own regiment, those of Lambert, Eglinton, Balgony, and Dalhousie. On his extreme right was a troop of lancers, and in his rear a reserve of horse. The left wing was in charge of Oliver Cromwell with his own regiment, destined to win their name of Ironsides by their conduct that day.¹ In this wing were also Manchester's foot and Crawford's horse. Leslie's cavalry composed the reserve. The artillery was placed between the two wings on each flank of the centre. The hoarse commands directing the formation of battle were frequently interrupted by the fierce exhortations of the preachers, or the shout of psalms proclaiming the glory of the Lord, and the word that was given to the soldiers to inspire them in the approaching conflict was, "God and our Cause!"

As the Prince came up he prepared to meet this preparation with equal energy. Over his shining corselet he wore his cloak of scarlet, and a flowing plume waved from his helmet. His face was lighted with the happy confidence of youth. A huge white dog, "Boy," which he had trained in Germany, and which had followed him through the glory of his career, bounded upon the heels of his gallant steed. He was now, as ever, the idol of his soldiers. His left wing contained Sir George Goring, Sir John Hurry, Sir Charles Lucas, and Rupert's life-guard. In the centre were General James King and the foot, with the Marquis of Newcastle's regiment of white coats, called "the Lambs," and led that day by Newcastle's brother, Sir Charles Cavendish.² On the right were Newcastle's own two regiments and other troops from the midland counties, with Lord Biron and the Irish horse, and Lords Grandison and Bellasis. Back of all were strong reserves of horse and foot, and the Prince's artillery was placed where it was designed to work the deadliest execution. The Royalist word was "God and our King!"

¹ "Here [at Marston Moor] he gained the title of Ironsides from the impenetrable strength of his troops which could by no means be broken or divided."—*The Perfect Politician*, p. 7. This indicates that the name "Ironsides" was applied to Cromwell individually as well as to his troops.

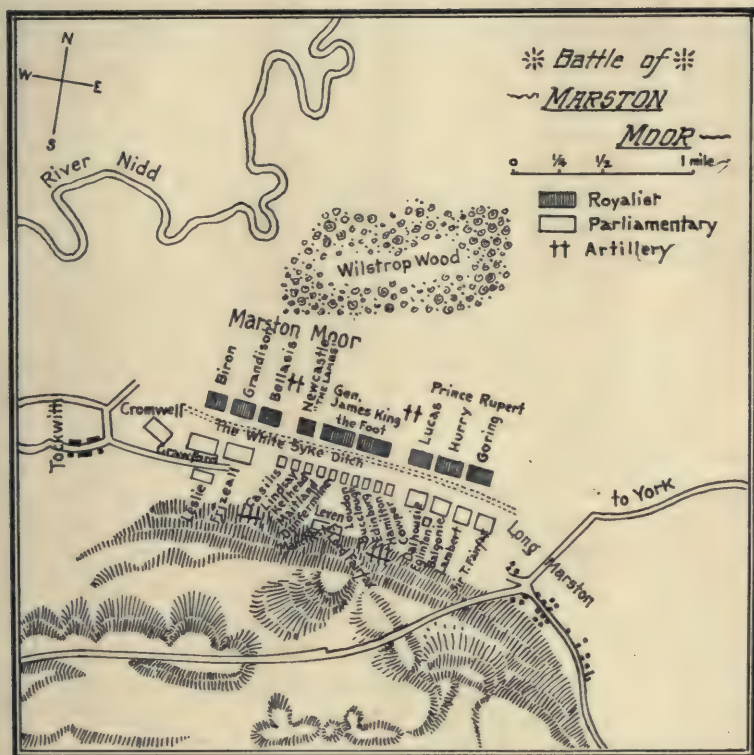
² Cousin to him who had been killed in the bog. Newcastle fought with "the Lambs" in this battle.—*Studies of the Great Rebellion*, by J. L. Sanford, p. 580.

Since three o'clock there had been an occasional cannon-shot, but it was now past six and the battle had not begun.

The day was drawing to a close. The Marquis of Newcastle, feeling that there would be no engagement at that late hour, had retired to his travelling carriage to nurse his wrath, when a wild alarm smote his ear, and he emerged to fight bravely, but as a volunteer soldier, as Lord Lindsey had fought under a similar personal grievance at Edgehill.

A ditch called "the White Syke," running across the Moor, divided the two armies. Suddenly a stir was seen on the left of the Parliament side, and Manchester's infantry advanced and plunged across the ditch. As by an electric touch the whole machinery of war responded, and fifty thousand Englishmen sprang forward, meeting each other in the shock of battle. Shout answered shout, and the clash of sabres, the roar of guns, and the plunge of mettled steeds shook the plain. It was after six o'clock in the evening, and a summer storm broke over the field, so that the booming guns were echoed in the thunders of Heaven. Sir Thomas Fairfax and his right wing were hampered in their advance by the broken ground, and while they were struggling forward through a rather narrow lane, they were struck with fearful force by the Cavaliers. Rupert and his life-guard were in that charge, and no army had ever yet withstood his onslaught. Nor could the Parliament men resist it that day. For one moment they stood and looked, and then they fled. Fairfax bravely tried to rally them, forcing his horse forward in the thick of danger, until a flashing sabre struck him in the face, and he himself was swept back wounded and bleeding. The whole right wing was utterly broken and routed, and Rupert found himself occupying their ground, and flanking the Parliament centre. These were the invading Scots, and Charles had written him to "beat the rebel armies of both kingdoms."¹ Moved by the inspiration of his uncle's command, he fell upon them, and they, too, fled, Leven himself leading the mad retreat under the impression that all

¹ Warburton's *Life of Prince Rupert*, vol. ii., p. 438.



was lost. With shouts of victory the Cavaliers pursued them ; but the day was not yet decided.

Far over on the Parliament left was a body of twenty-three hundred riders, whose fine discipline, high courage, and religious zeal were the wonder of that army. They were the God-fearing men whom Oliver Cromwell had wisely chosen to beat the younger sons and men of honour in the King's army. When Manchester's infantry sprang across the White Syke ditch, they were mowed down in platoons by a murderous fire from the Prince's artillery. Cromwell, watching for the result of the first onset to govern his own course, saw them falter before the awful flame and smoke of Rupert's cannon. With a passionate word of command he led his Ironsides around to the right in order to avoid the ditch. The movement occupied some moments, during which the infantry met with increasing distress. But their deliverer was near.

The stern Puritans went charging down the Moor, striking the Royal right wing like a tornado of death. The Cavaliers in their turn were appalled. No such solid and compact body of men as Cromwell then led had ever been seen in England before. The Royalists were stricken with panic. "God made them as stubble to our swords," wrote Cromwell, three days afterwards. "We charged their regiments of foot with our horse, and routed all we charged." Cromwell was wounded in the neck, which for a moment checked his pursuit. The men at his side were alarmed until they heard him say cheerily, "A miss is as good as a mile." Refusing to consider it anything but a trifling hurt, he pressed in on the enemy's guns, struck down the men who served them, and turned their flaming mouths upon the fleeing Cavaliers. He then struck the enemy's centre on the flank, just as Rupert had done on the other side of the ditch. There he met Lord Newcastle's "White Coats," embracing the flower of Yorkshire manhood, and not even the Ironsides could make them flinch. Oliver and his men went at them shouting, "God and our Cause!" at every charge. They fell, indeed, like "stubble" before sabre-thrust and carbine, but still they answered, "God and our King!" until

the last man fell. Out of that gallant band of a thousand men only forty were breathing when the battle ended. Then Cromwell and his men turned and approached the ditch in the quiet satisfaction of victory.

The storm had ceased with the temporary cessation of the fight. The sun was sinking in the west, and the soft gloaming of a summer night was falling on the field. On the other side of the ditch Prince Rupert was returning from the pursuit. The position of Cavalier and Puritan had been nearly reversed, and each now occupied in part the ground at first held by his enemy. Suddenly each of the conquerors found himself confronted by an advancing army, and instantly the battle was renewed. Cromwell struck the jaded Cavaliers in front. Sir Thomas Fairfax, having gathered the larger part of his men together in Willstrop Wood at the back edge of the Moor, charged them in the rear. The Prince strove to hold his troops steady, but Cromwell was upon them before they could re-form. Attacked on every side, they were soon put to flight leaving the spoils of victory behind them. The retreat became a rout, and the Prince narrowly escaped capture by leaping his good horse over a fence and making his way to York. The Roundheads captured 3000 prisoners, 25 cannon, 130 barrels of powder, 10,000 arms, and the Prince's waggon train, while more than 4000 men died on the field, the larger part being Cavaliers.

The slaughter was kept up nearly to the walls of York. At last it was over; and the battle of Marston Moor, after three Parliamentary generals had been put to flight by the invincible Prince, was won by their subordinate, Oliver Cromwell, and by the devout men who had received their whole training in warfare from him.¹

¹ I have drawn my account of this much disputed battle from all the available authorities. Among these are the descriptions of Rushworth, vol. v., p. 632; Forster, *Statesmen*, p. 435; Warburton, vol. ii., p. 445; Merc. Brit. in *Cromwelliana*, p. 9; Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 503, who knows little about it and seems to wish that he knew less; Heath's *Flagellum*, p. 28; *The Perfect Politician*, p. 5; Hosmer, *Life of Young Sir Henry Vane*, p. 212, a very good account, although I as-

Prince Rupert, crestfallen by the failure of the first great battle in which he had held the chief command, left York with a few thousand broken soldiers early the next morning, and went across to Lancashire and south to Shropshire to gather reinforcements. The Marquis of Newcastle, who had enjoyed almost sovereign power in the north, having received a commission from the King which authorised him to raise armies, coin money, and confer knighthood, now perceived that the royal cause was hopeless of ultimate success, and so, smarting with rage over the Prince's rash and unfortunate conduct in forcing this battle, he, too, fled from York, followed by about eighty of his kinsmen and friends, and left England, to remain in exile for many years.

Sir Thomas Glenham, having been put in charge of York, was forced to surrender that city on the 16th of July, having first stipulated for leave to march to the King with his garrison under all the honours of war.¹

By the victory won at Marston Moor, Cromwell's reputation became firmly established as the first soldier in England. But he was slow to covet the honour of the highest rank; and while his personal spirit and influence dominated the Puritan hosts from that day, he did not receive nor would he accept the chief command until six years later when the unready Fairfax stepped aside, and Oliver led the army into Scotland as its General.

In this battle of Marston Moor, Cromwell's sister's son, young Captain Walton, was killed by a cannon-ball. This bereavement threw a sad shade over Cromwell's victory, not only out

sume him to be the author of a still better one in *The Nation*, April 14, 1887; and Whitelock, vol. i., p. 275, who makes some mistakes, dating the battle on the next day, and placing Fairfax in the left wing with Cromwell. Also Hume, vol. iii., p. 275, who, copying Rushworth, says that in the first assault Cromwell was opposed by Prince Rupert, which seems distinctly not the case. Clarendon says the fight began at three o'clock in the afternoon, and Whitelock says it was seven in the morning. Rushworth says it began after six o'clock in the evening and lasted until near ten, and this statement is correct, as Rupert told Newcastle late in the afternoon that there would be no fight until the next morning, which caused the Marquis to retire to his carriage for sleep.

¹ Rushworth, vol. v., p. 640.

of his affection for the young man, but because it vividly recalled the death of his own son Oliver a short time before. The contemplation of these family losses, weighing heavily upon his heart, drew from him the following letter to the young man's father:

"To my loving brother, COLONEL VALENTINE WALTON: These.

"Leaguer before YORK, 5th July, 1644.

"DEAR SIR: "

"It's our duty to sympathise in all mercies; and to praise the Lord together in chastisements or trials, that so we may sorrow together.

"Truly England and the Church of God hath had a great favour from the Lord, in this great victory given unto us, such as the like never was since this war began. It had all the evidences of an absolute victory obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the Godly Party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy. The Left Wing, which I commanded, being our own horse, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the Prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords. We charged their regiments of foot with our horse, and routed all we charged. The particulars I cannot relate now, but I believe, of Twenty-thousand the Prince hath not Four-thousand left. Give glory, all the glory, to God.

"Sir, God hath taken away your eldest son by a cannon-shot. It brake his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off, whereof he died.

"Sir, you know my own trials this way; but the Lord supported me with this, That the Lord took him into the happiness we all pant for and live for.¹ There is your precious child full of glory, never to know sin or sorrow any more. He was a gallant young man, exceedingly gracious. God give you His comfort. Before his death he was so full of comfort that to Frank Russell and myself he could not express it, 'It was so great above his pain.' This he said to us. Indeed it was admirable. A little after, he said, One thing lay upon his spirit. I asked him, What that was? He told me it was, That God had not suffered him to be any more the executioner of His enemies. At his fall, his horse being killed with the bullet, and as I am informed three horses more, I am told he bid them, Open to the right and left, that he might see the rogues run. Truly he was exceedingly beloved in the Army, of all that knew him. But few knew him; for he was a precious young man, fit for God. You have cause to bless the Lord. He is a glorious Saint in Heaven; wherein you ought exceedingly to rejoice. Let this drink up

¹ He here refers to the death of his second son, young Oliver. Mr. Frederick Harrison writes to me under date of February 17, 1893, as follows: "The authority for the death by small-pox of young Oliver Cromwell at Newport Pagnell, and not in battle, is that of Prof. S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, vol. i., p. 369, published 1886. He relies on the *Parliament Scout*, March 15, 1644, and regards the story in the Squire Papers, hitherto accepted by historians, as a forgery. Prof. Gardiner is our greatest living authority for the Civil War, and I have satisfied myself that he is right. The Squire forgeries have misled many writers."

your sorrow ; seeing these are not feigned words to comfort you, but the thing is so real and undoubted a truth. You may do all things by the strength of Christ. Seek that, and you shall easily bear your trial. Let this public mercy to the Church of God make you to forget your private sorrow. The Lord be your strength ; so prays your truly faithful and loving brother,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.

“ My love to your Daughter, and my Cousin Perceval, Sister Desborrow, and all friends with you.”¹

¹ Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 165.





CHAPTER XV.

NASEBY.

The King still Victorious in the West—Essex Surrenders his Army to Charles—Second Battle of Newbury—Quarrel of Cromwell and Manchester—Cromwell's Dissimulation Examined—Presbyterians Plot to Overthrow Cromwell—Self-Denying Ordinance—Speeches of Cromwell—And Others—All Presbyterian Generals Resign—Independent Ascendency—The New-Model Army—Cromwell the Real Leader—Character of the Puritan Soldiers—Laud's Trial and Execution—Book of Common Prayer Abolished—Treaty of Uxbridge—Cromwell Wins some Minor Victories—Montrose Diverts the Scots—Battle of Naseby—Cromwell Totally Defeats the King.

WHILE the Parliamentary armies had achieved a splendid success in the north, the King was pursuing Essex in the west with able strategy. The war had come to a pass where those Puritans who were of aristocratic birth perceived that a final victory for the Parliament in arms would lead to the extirpation of both the King and his nobility. On the other hand, a military conquest by the King would tempt him to a further exercise of autocratic power. The conservative men of both parties were therefore in favour of an honourable peace. Charles had made many overtures for peace, and the Parliament had confessed an equal desire to put an end to the present miseries. But neither party would make the necessary concessions to this end.

Lord Essex was extremely solicitous for peace, and the King, failing to secure terms from the Parliament, applied to Essex in a direct and specific proposal to end the war forthwith. But the loyalty of this Puritan soldier was superior to his severe temptation. He declined to treat with the Royalists and

promptly forwarded the correspondence to the Parliament, which thanked him profusely for having preserved his own honour and their safety.

The King pressed in on Essex and followed him into Cornwall. On the 1st of September (1644) he had so encompassed the Puritans that, after their horse had forced their way through his lines and Essex himself had fled from his army and put to sea in a small boat for Plymouth, the entire Parliamentary infantry surrendered their train of artillery, their ammunition and baggage and all their arms, and were then permitted to disperse in disorder and contempt.¹

The Parliament condoled with their General and recruited his forces. On October 27th the two armies fought the second battle of Newbury without a positive result. Essex was sick, and the Earl of Manchester commanded the Puritans, the subordinate direction resting with Waller and Skippon. Cromwell did not take part in this engagement. "Where those horses were that Lieutenant-General Cromwell commanded," says Manchester in his account of this battle, "I have as yet had no certain account."² The truth is, that Cromwell and the Ironsides had been on a hard march for eight days preceding the battle. The opening of the engagement late in the day found them on the wrong side of the river, with no ford convenient. Manchester was clearly unequal to the task of leadership. There were bitter dissensions between himself and Cromwell, and Cromwell gravely suspected his willingness to beat the King. The Parliamentary forces therefore fought without unity of purpose and there was no bold and masterful generalship to inspire them to victory. The King made a charge or two, and then drew off his army in the moonlight without opposition, taking with him a lot of Manchester's cannon.³ A few days

¹ Essex's account, Rushworth, vol. v., p. 701.

² Rushworth, vol. v., p. 733.

³ Essex's account, Rushworth, vol. v., p. 701. *The Quarrel of Manchester and Cromwell* (Camden Society, 1875), pp. 50, 59. The "Cromwell's Narrative" on page 78 of *The Quarrel*, while it has historic value as giving substantially Cromwell's side of the controversy, is plainly not Cromwell's style of composition.

afterwards Manchester sent an order to Cromwell to bring his troops to a rendezvous, and Cromwell, who knew that the horses were jaded, replied by inquiring with some heat whether the Earl intended to flay the horses, for if he called them to a rendezvous "he might have their skins, but no service from them." The King, who had marched away from Newbury after the fight, was now returning. Dennington Castle, lying close to Newbury, was under siege by the Puritans, and it was given out that the King was coming to its relief. Manchester's order to mass the troops was made with an intention to stop the King. But the chiefs of the Parliamentary army were still at cross-purposes, and before their misunderstandings could be adjusted, Charles had forced his way to the castle and given the garrison abundant relief (November 9th). He then drew out "leisurely and soldierlike," says General Skippon, took his cannon train with him, and sent a party of his horse to attack some of the Puritans and put them to flight.¹ Both armies then withdrew to their winter quarters.

The recent Parliamentary reverses in the west had produced the gravest discontents both in the Army and in the two Houses, and as soon as military operations had ceased for the winter, some of the members under the inspiration of Cromwell began to devise a plan for a complete reorganisation of the Army.²

The quarrel between Cromwell and Manchester was fiercely renewed, and Cromwell made a speech in the House of Commons (November 25, 1644) in which he boldly accused the Earl of being "indisposed and backward" in his military duties, being against ending the war by the sword and in favour of a

¹ Rushworth, vol. v., pp. 729, 730.

² "The men are exceedingly active in their own way. They strive to advance Cromwell for their head. They ascribe to him the victory of York (Marston Moor); but most unjustly. The sectaries books press most in a universal liberty for all religions."—*Historical Memoirs of the Independents*, by Benjamin Hanbury, London, 1839, 3 vols., vol. ii., p. 445. Another letter in Hanbury says: "This day (13th September, 1644) Cromwell has obtained an order of the House of Commons to refer to the Committee of both Kingdoms the accommodation, or toleration, of the Independents; a high and unexpected order; yet, by God's help, we will make use of it contrary to the design of the procurers."

disadvantagous peace. He said that since the capture of York Manchester had made no effort to oppress the enemy, "as if he thought the King too low and the Parliament too high," and that he had neglected many opportunities of bettering the popular cause in direct opposition to his Council of War and the Committee of Both Kingdoms.¹ Cromwell declared that at the last moment of the campaign which had just closed so ingloriously, after the King had relieved Dennington Castle and was withdrawing his army in triumph to Oxford, he had vehemently urged Manchester to attack Charles with the combined strength of his own force and those of Essex and Waller. But Manchester stubbornly refused to risk a battle, telling the Lieutenant-General that, "if we beat the King ninety-nine times, he would be King still, and his posterity, and we subjects still; but if he beat us but once, we should be hanged and our posterity undone."²

This outburst drew from Manchester, by way of recrimination, a statement which was intended to be very damaging to Cromwell's reputation. On a certain occasion when Oliver had proposed a measure which Manchester thought the Parliament would not approve, Cromwell said: "My lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself at the head of an army which shall give law both to King and Parliament." "This discourse," said the Earl, "made the greater impression on me, because I knew the Lieutenant-General to be a man of very deep designs; and he has even ventured to tell me, that it never would be well with England till I were Mr. Montague, and there were ne'er a lord or peer in the Kingdom."³

This quarrel was espoused on Manchester's behalf by the Presbyterians, comprising a majority of both Houses. But the Independents, devoted to the complete toleration of every thing in religion except Popery, had become a powerful faction in the Puritan party. Their leaders were young Sir Henry Vane, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John. Their ideal soldier

¹ Rushworth, vol. v., p. 732. Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 561.

² *The Quarrel* (Camd. Soc.), p. lxx.

³ Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 562. Rushworth, vol. v., p. 733.

and champion militant was Oliver Cromwell. A large part of the Army, including the Ironsides, were Independents. The powerful influence of these men was exerted in Cromwell's interest. They were opposed to peace except under conditions which they knew the King would never grant. They purposed to conquer him thoroughly before laying down their arms. In no other way would they believe that liberty could be established. The Presbyterians in Parliament and in the Army were obnoxious to them both for their desire for a speedy termination of the war, and for their opposition to liberty of conscience. A game for supremacy was now played by these two parties which first brought to the surface the wonderful political ability of Cromwell.

In coming to the consideration of this part of his character we are met with the charge, so frequently made, that he constantly practised a deep dissimulation. In reply to this we ask, Has the world produced a statesman who did not dissimulate? Is not dissimulation a faculty of the diplomatic mind? The word is used to denote a concealment of motives and designs. What, then, would be thought of a man who, in the perilous times of revolution, and while acting the supreme part in his country's history, would make a frivolously candid disclosure of his motives and designs? What would be the outcome of a revolution under such a leader? Cromwell did dissimulate. When encompassed with political difficulties, and surrounded by secret enemies on the Puritan side, dissimulation was the weapon which he employed to accomplish his designs. Major Huntingdon asserts that Cromwell told him it was "lawful to play the knave with a knave." If Oliver used this blunt assertion he used it to fit a particular case. "Cromwell," says Prof. Gardiner, "was certainly not one of those simple-minded men who wear their hearts upon their sleeves, and he undoubtedly did not think it in accordance with his duty to inform his political opponents what means he was about to adopt to countermine their machinations."¹

¹ *Great Civil War*, vol. iii., p. 429.

One night late in November (1644) the Lord General Essex secretly invited some very prominent persons to his house. Essex was no longer the idol of his party, and the sting of public disfavour rankled in his mind. Among those who came to see him were Whitelock, Maynard, Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, and the Scottish Commissioners. Lord Loudon, Chancellor of Scotland, addressed these members and informed them that Cromwell was no friend to the Scottish Army; that he had used the arts of an incendiary to detract from their honour and merit; and that he was no friend to Lord Essex. He desired to know whether it would be deemed expedient to draw up a prosecution against Cromwell before Parliament, demanding his punishment as an incendiary under the agreement between the two countries, and an enemy to the common weal. Whitelock and the others discussed this audacious proposition, but they all came to the wise conclusion that Cromwell's influence in Parliament was too powerful to be overthrown by such a proceeding, and they resolved that no move should be made until absolute proofs against him could be collected.¹

Cromwell was promptly informed of these designs to destroy him, and he prepared at once to crush his enemies and establish his own position firmly in the Army. On the 9th of December, in the House of Commons, after there had been a general silence for a good space of time, each member waiting to see whether his neighbour would broach this embarrassing business, Oliver Cromwell rose and spoke upon the Self-Denying Ordinance. This ordinance provided that no member of either House should henceforth hold office in either the Army, the Navy, or the civil Government. His speech was brusque and practical. He said :

“ It is now a time to speak, or forever hold the tongue. The important occasion now is no less than to save a nation out of a bleeding, nay, almost dying condition ; which the long continuance of this war hath already brought it into ; so that without a more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the War,—casting off

¹ Whitelock, vol. i., p. 343.

all lingering proceedings like those of soldiers of fortune beyond sea, to spin out a war,—we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of Parliament.

For what do the Enemy say? Nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the Parliament? Even this, that the members of both Houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands; and, what by interest in Parliament, what by power in the Army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This that I speak here to our own faces is what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any. I know the worth of those commanders, members of both Houses, who are yet in power; but if I may speak my conscience without reflection upon any, I do conceive if the Army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the People can bear the War no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace.

“But this I would recommend to your prudence, Not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any Commander-in-chief upon any occasion whatsoever; for as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military affairs. Therefore, waiving a strict inquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy; which is most necessary. And I hope we have such true English hearts, and zealous affections towards the general weal of our Mother Country, as no Members of either House will scruple to deny themselves, and their own private interests, for the public good; nor account it to be a dishonour done to them, whatever the Parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter.”¹

Sir Harry Vane also spoke, accusing himself for holding a gainful office, that of Treasurer of the Navy. Other members were eloquent in their praise of this plan for establishing their patriotism on sure foundations.

The Presbyterians opposed the ordinance. The Independent design of levelling social and family distinctions was darkly hinted at. Whitelock told them that their present commanders were trained to military authority; that greater confidence might safely be reposed in men of family and fortune, than in mere adventurers; that the Army should be held in strict subordination to the civil power; and that those who now enjoyed these trusts should not be disturbed.²

Then Cromwell replied briefly to all the other speeches. He said:

“I am not of the mind that the calling of the members to sit in Parliament will break or scatter our armies. I can speak this for my own soldiers, that they look

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 4

² Whitelock, vol. i., p. 353.

not upon me, but upon you ; and for you they will fight, and live and die in your cause ; and if others be of that mind that they are of, you need not fear them. They do not idolise me, but look upon the cause they fight for. You may lay upon them what commands you please, they will obey your commands in that cause they fight for.”¹

Too modest indeed was Cromwell in saying that his soldiers did not idolise him.

It was a hard struggle, but the Self-Denying Ordinance was at length passed in both Houses,² and among those who immediately resigned their commands were Essex, Waller, Manchester, Warwick, Denbigh, and Brereton—all Presbyterians. Skippon, being an Independent, was retained as Major-General to please the City of London.

The Earl of Essex had been chosen to lead the Parliamentary hosts because his noble birth, his elevated character, and his military experience in the Continental wars had commended him to the Puritans as an ideal general. He had been upheld in every reverse by the loyalty and devotion of his party. His inactive policy of watch-and-wait had been accepted with deference by those who yearned to see him fight a crushing battle. When he did meet the King, as at Edgehill and Newbury, he manœuvred his troops with the skilful judgment of an unbeaten soldier. But he never struck a decisive blow ; he always permitted the enemy to withdraw in order, and in time there were those who cried vehemently that his Lordship was a King’s man at heart, and that he was not striving in good faith for the Parliament’s supremacy. The bad condition of the Roundhead cause under his leadership, and the good fortune which quickly followed when Cromwell, Manchester, and Fairfax were separated from his authority, convinced the Puritans, after long forbearance, that he was not available for the post of conqueror in the revolution which they were resolved to accomplish. The Self-Denying Ordinance was the engine which swept him and his friends aside. Essex was voted a

¹ Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 174.

² The Self-Denying Ordinance is printed in the *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii., p. 355.

pension of £10,000 a year, but he died in less than two years after his resignation—that is, on September 14, 1646, at the age of fifty-five years. He was buried in great state in the presence of both Houses of Parliament.¹

The passage of the Self-Denying Ordinance was due to Cromwell's personal management. Under its indiscriminating provisions he should at once have resigned from the Army. But there are no grounds for believing that he ever intended to resign. Says William Godwin :

“It is sufficiently singular that at this time when the names of the General, the Major-General, and twenty-four colonels were voted, the appointment of Lieutenant-General was passed over in silence. It cannot be reasonably doubted that there was a special reason for keeping the name of the officer second in command in reserve ; and that reason, as appeared in the sequel, was that the situation was destined for Cromwell.”²

At the time the resignations of the other officers were received, he was on his way to Taunton to relieve a siege there. Comment having naturally been made on his absence, orders were despatched for his immediate attendance in Parliament, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, the new General, was instructed to employ some other officer in that service. A day was accordingly named on which he would return and take his seat in the House. But Fairfax, having appointed a rendezvous for the Army, forwarded a petition to the Parliament, bearing the signatures of himself and sixteen colonels, in which they begged permission for Cromwell to remain at headquarters for a few days, as his advice would be useful in supplying the places of those officers who had resigned.³ Shortly afterwards, he earnestly besought the Parliament to allow Cromwell to serve for three months, which was granted, and then four months more, and six months again, as Lieutenant-General. And his martial achievements during these times were so colossal that even his enemies could not again press the matter of his retirement, while the great body of the people viewed his performances in

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 329 ; *National Biography*, Essex.

² *History of the Commonwealth*, London, 1824, 4 vols., vol. i., p. 405.

³ *Merc. Brit., Cromwelliana*, p. 18.

the field with wonder and admiration ; and the soldiers broke out into fierce denunciation when it was proposed to revoke his commission.

Soon after the retirement of the Presbyterian generals from the Army had been accomplished the Self-Denying Ordinance was forgotten, and the Independent officers in the Army were elected to Parliament to fill vacancies, among them being Sir Oliver and Sir Samuel Luke, Henry Ireton, Thomas Rainsborough, Algernon Sidney, Richard Ingoldsby, Edmund Ludlow, and Charles Fleetwood.¹ The political and strategic purpose of this measure is therefore plain ; but it opened the way to a reform in the personnel of the Army which was much needed.

The ordinance for the "New Model" of the Army quickly followed the Self-Denying Ordinance. This provided for recruiting the Parliamentary Army to 21,000 men, Sir Thomas Fairfax being General. Fairfax was a man of humane nature, and esteemed for his bravery. At the time of his elevation to the chief command, he was only thirty-four years of age, and as he had a narrow understanding of all affairs other than those of war, it was natural that he should lean on Cromwell and imbibe some part of the religious zeal and personal enthusiasm of that masterful man. And to the end of his military service, Fairfax, nominally the General, was really a trusting follower of Cromwell in all the important measures of the war. A noticeable thing in the commission of Fairfax was the omission of those instructions which the Parliament had formerly given to Essex for the care of the King's person.

The ordinance for the New Model gave to Fairfax and Cromwell, and to their adherents in Parliament, an opportunity to reconstruct the Army in a manner that gave the chief official places to Independents. The Covenant, never regarded by them as more than a political expedient to gain the Scottish Army, was now practically suspended. The new recruits were not required to subscribe it. The efficiency of the military

¹ Walker's *History of Independency*, London, 1648, p. 166.

service was greatly enhanced, jealousies disappeared, and every soldier seemed possessed by a wild and weird zeal to fight the enemies of Zion—who, of course, were the Cavaliers—to the death. Religious enthusiasm was at its height when the New Model was completed. Those Puritan hosts performed every action in the name of God. When they were not fighting, they were either preaching or reading, and expounding the Scriptures. Conversation was often carried on in Biblical phrases. Every argument was clinched with a text from the sacred book. The private soldiers, disciplined to perfect obedience in the drill or on the field, forgot their subordination in the relaxed freedom of the camp, and often lectured their officers fiercely when they were suspected of a weakness of the flesh. They adopted the old Jewish theory of the personal leadership of Jehovah. The Old Testament was explored for instances of modern application. They delighted to quote the inspired promise that the saints shall possess the earth. They proclaimed that they had drawn the sword of the Lord and of Gideon. Agag, the hated Amalekite King, was the name by which they referred to Charles. They were in arms against the Ammonites and the Moabites. The children of Belial were opposing them. The popish soldiers were led by the priests of Baal. They would overcome their foes at Armageddon. The Scarlet Woman would be slain. Agag would be covered with confusion. Then would peace come to Shiloh.

The placing of the whole power of the sword in the hands of the Independents under the New Model speedily awakened a jealousy among the Presbyterian majority in the Parliament, which was to grow into a bitterness nearly equal to that which now existed between the King and the Commons. But momentous affairs obscured this incipient strife for the time being.

While Fairfax and Cromwell were thus reconstructing and re-inspiring the Army, the Parliament found time to bring the aged Archbishop Laud to trial, he having lain in prison ever since the days of the Strafford agitation. His trial bore much resemblance to that of Strafford, and it has been equally a

subject of heated controversy. He was accused, in the same manner as Strafford had been accused, of high treason, in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom. The same specious but illegal theory of a cumulative crime and a constructive evidence was adopted. After more than one hundred and fifty witnesses had testified, the Parliament found, as in the Strafford trial, that there was so little likelihood of obtaining a verdict, that they fell back upon the old expedient of an *ex-post-facto* law, and passed an ordinance to take away his life. The Lords made some show of opposition, but so far had their influence declined that they soon withdrew their virtuous objections, and concurred with the lower House. It is but fair to say that when the question was put only seven of the Peers were present to vote, the others having purposely remained away in a conscious shame of the act.¹ The original sentence was that he should be hanged, drawn, and quartered, but upon an earnest solicitation from the Lords, the Commons, after once refusing, finally granted, with much reluctance, a petition from Laud that he might be beheaded, which was accordingly done on the 10th of January, 1645, in the face of a free pardon which Charles formally issued to him from Oxford.

About the same time the Parliament, endeavouring to give a finishing blow to the English Church, passed an ordinance abolishing the Book of Common Prayer.²

The King sent several messages for peace, and at length succeeded in having commissioners appointed by the Parliament, who met his own representatives at Uxbridge; and thence ensued the treaty which took its name from that place.

In order to secure this commission, Charles had been compelled to recede from his former resolution, and address the Houses at Westminster as the Parliament of England. This concession apparently stultified his Oxford Parliament, but he ordered a secret entry to be made in the council books, that, though he had *called* them the Parliament, he had not *acknowledged* them for such, and a letter to his Queen in which this

¹ Rushworth, vol. v., p. 780.

² *Ibid.*, 582.

casuistry was set forth was taken at Naseby, and was made one of the grounds for the charge of political perfidy which has ever since been stoutly advanced against him. But straightforward dealing is not the ruling virtue of either party in times of war.

At the time that the treaty of Uxbridge was commenced there was no sincere belief in the breast of any of the Commissioners that a peace would be secured. The Presbyterians were naturally afraid of punishment if they restored the King to power. The Independents were openly demanding a pure Republic. The Royalists were unwilling to grant any further concessions than those which had been yielded before the war began.

The Parliamentary commissioners demanded that the power of the sword should forever be entrusted to such persons as the Parliament would appoint, but afterwards seven years was named as the time. They required that the truce with the Irish rebels should be abrogated, and the management of the war and of the civil administration in Ireland be placed with the Parliament. They desired the King and all his party to sign the Covenant and adopt the worship of the Presbyterian Church, forsaking Episcopacy. They then set forth other demands, that the King should attain and except from a general pardon forty of the most considerable of his English subjects, and nineteen of those of Scotland, together with all the Catholics in both kingdoms who had borne arms for him. Forty-eight others, with all the members who had sat in either House at Oxford, and all lawyers and ministers who had embraced the King's party, should be made incapable of holding office, be forbidden the exercise of their professions, be prohibited from attending the Court, and should forfeit one-third of their estates to the Parliament. Whoever had borne arms for the King should forfeit one-tenth of their estates, or, if that were not sufficient for the payment of the public debts, one-sixth. Finally, it was demanded, that the Court of Wards should be abolished, that all the important officers of the Crown, and all the judges should be appointed by the Parliament, and that

the prerogative of peace or war should not be exercised without the Parliament's consent. Some of these proposals were in exact accord with the correct understanding of a nation's liberty. But some of them were barbarous. After twenty days had been spent in fruitless debates, the treaty was abandoned.¹

In April, a body of troops from the new-modelled Army was overtaken by the intrepid Prince Rupert near Lidbury, and put to rout, two hundred of them being taken prisoners. Cromwell, who had come to Windsor ostensibly to resign his commission, received orders to intercept the King, who, it was reported, intended to march from Oxford, and join Rupert at Worcester. He met the advance guard at Islip Bridge, and defeated them, he likewise taking two hundred prisoners. The fugitives were pursued to Blechington House, a strongly fortified and well garrisoned castle commanded by Colonel Windebank, a son of the King's former Secretary. Cromwell, as a mere formality of war, summoned them to surrender, but he never expected their compliance, and would have passed on without assaulting them. But Windebank, who was enjoying his honeymoon, hastily surrendered, and reaching Oxford in disgrace, was immediately shot by sentence of court-martial. Cromwell was overcome with surprise at the yielding of this stronghold, and as usual when unexpected advantages fell to him, his fervid soul attributed it all to divine interposition. In his official report, he said :

"This was the mercy of God, and nothing is more due than a real acknowledgment. And though I have had greater mercies, yet none clearer ; because, in the first place, God brought them to our hands when we looked not for them ; and delivered them out of our hands when we laid a reasonable design to surprise them, and which we carefully endeavoured. His mercy appears in this also, that I did much doubt the storming of the House, it being strong and well manned and I having few dragoons, and this being not my business ; and yet we got it. I hope you will pardon me if I say, God is not enough owned. We look too much to men and visible helps. This hath much hindered our success. But I hope God will direct all to acknowledge him alone in all things."²

¹ Rushworth, vol. v., p. 787, etc.

² *Ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 24. Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 170.

Leaving a guard at Blechington, Cromwell marched to Witney, and beat up the Royalist quarters at Brampton Bush, capturing a number of prisoners. He then summoned Farrington Castle in this fierce style :

"To the Governor of the Garrison in Farrington.

"29th April, 1645.

"SIR :

"I summon you to deliver into my hands the house wherein you are, and your ammunition, with all things else there ; together with your persons, to be disposed of as the Parliament shall appoint. Which if you refuse to do, you are to expect the utmost extremity of war. I rest, your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."¹

But Roger Burgess, a stout Cavalier, who had the Blechington affair and Windebank's fate in his mind, defied him to do his worst. Cromwell assaulted the walls at three in the morning, and was repulsed, leaving fourteen of his men killed, and ten other prisoners.²

By this time, Fairfax believed the new Army to be sufficiently well organised to take the field. The Parliament ordered a day of public humiliation and prayer for its success ; and on April 30, 1645, he marched from Windsor, and reaching Newbury on May 2d, he was joined by Cromwell. The Lieutenant-General learned from some prisoners of a design of General Goring's to attack his troops, which had been left at Farrington that night, and he made haste thither, but arrived just in time to see his troops, under Major Bethel, attacked on the opposite side of the river. The skirmish occurred at Radcot Bridge, and as soon as Cromwell came over the fight became furious, Bethel was taken prisoner, and four or five Roundheads were slain. Cromwell had barely reached the front when darkness came on, much to Goring's delight, who, being unwilling to risk a general engagement, drew off his men with the purpose of intercepting Fairfax's march to the relief of Taunton, then under siege by the Royalists.³ In this endeavour he was not successful, as Fairfax despatched a large body of men under Colonel Weldon, who drew up

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 26.

² *Ibid.*, 25.

³ *Ibid.*, 27.

before Taunton on May 12th, causing the Royalists to withdraw. They were soon met, however, by Goring and Hopton, under whose command the Cavaliers again took up the siege of Taunton, immuring Weldon and his relief party close prisoners within the beleaguered walls.

In the meantime, the King had left Oxford, accompanied by Prince Rupert and 8000 soldiers, and after taking some Puritan castles on his march, he forced the Parliamentarians to raise the siege of Chester. Retracing his march, the King stopped before the city of Leicester, and summoned it to surrender. Receiving a refusal, he planted his batteries and stormed the walls (May 30th), carrying them after a brilliant and heroic assault. This victory was a great one, as he captured 1500 prisoners and a vast store of war materials, together with much money, plate, and goods.¹

While the King was winning these victories, Fairfax had sat down before Oxford, where he had been surprised by a sally in which one hundred of his men were killed. On receiving intelligence of the successful storming of Leicester the Parliament peremptorily commanded him to quit Oxford and go into the Associated Counties, where it was feared the King would next wend his way. It was this period of disaster which evoked from the Parliament a formal authority for Cromwell, still the only Roundhead who was winning victories, to serve as Lieutenant-General, commanding the horse.

It was the intention of General Goring in the west to join his forces with the King's Army, and he wrote letters to Charles dissuading him from risking a battle until this junction could be effected. But the Parliament intercepted these letters and their wise counsel was lost to the ill-fated Sovereign, who was widening the distance every day between himself and Goring by pursuing his march northward towards Pontefract Castle.

The Scottish Army was still in the far north. Its Presbyterian generals had perceived with much disfavour the establishment of Independent ascendancy in the New-Model Army of

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 35.

the Parliament, and the natural jealousies which already existed between the armies were fanned into new heat by the religious and political prejudices which had grown out of the operations of the Self-Denying Ordinance. This was one reason why Fairfax could not look for any immediate assistance from the invaders. But there was a more potent excuse for Scottish inactivity in the north.

James Graham, the Marquis of Montrose, who, as a zealous Covenanter, had opposed Charles in the two Bishops' wars, had since become his most devoted adherent. Young, ardent, and brave, he had offered his sword to his King, and Charles had granted him supreme authority to conduct a war of diversion in Scotland, hoping that he could force Leven to recross his Army over the Tweed and transfer the field of war to Scotland. Montrose, returning to Scotland alone, was laughed at for his pretensions. But in a very short period of time he had gathered under his banner a goodly number of the hereditary followers of his house, and was soon reinforced by the Earl of Antrim, who came over from Ireland with 1500 soldiers. Possessing courage equal to that of Rupert, but withal a better judgment, Montrose entered into his campaign with so much fervency and zeal that he very shortly became almost the conqueror of Scotland. His Army increased as victory followed victory. At Tippermuir, Perth, and Aberdeen he had broken the strength of the Covenanters; and, with the intelligence of this havoc of war ringing in his ears, yet still unwilling to leave England, General Leven dared not march too far away from the borders of his native land.

But as soon as Fairfax was permitted to raise the irksome siege of Oxford, he made quick marches on the heels of the King, intent to give him battle.

Charles was in excellent spirits. A courier from Montrose had just brought word of a new victory. The King wrote to Henrietta Maria: "Never since the beginning of the rebellion have my affairs been in so good a position." He and his courtiers rode away from the Army to hunt the stag. He had reached Naseby on his march, when, on the night of June 13th,

Henry Ireton, with the Roundhead advance guard, beat up his quarters and compelled him at midnight to fly to Harborough, where a council of war was held with Prince Rupert, and a rash resolve was taken to fight the next day.

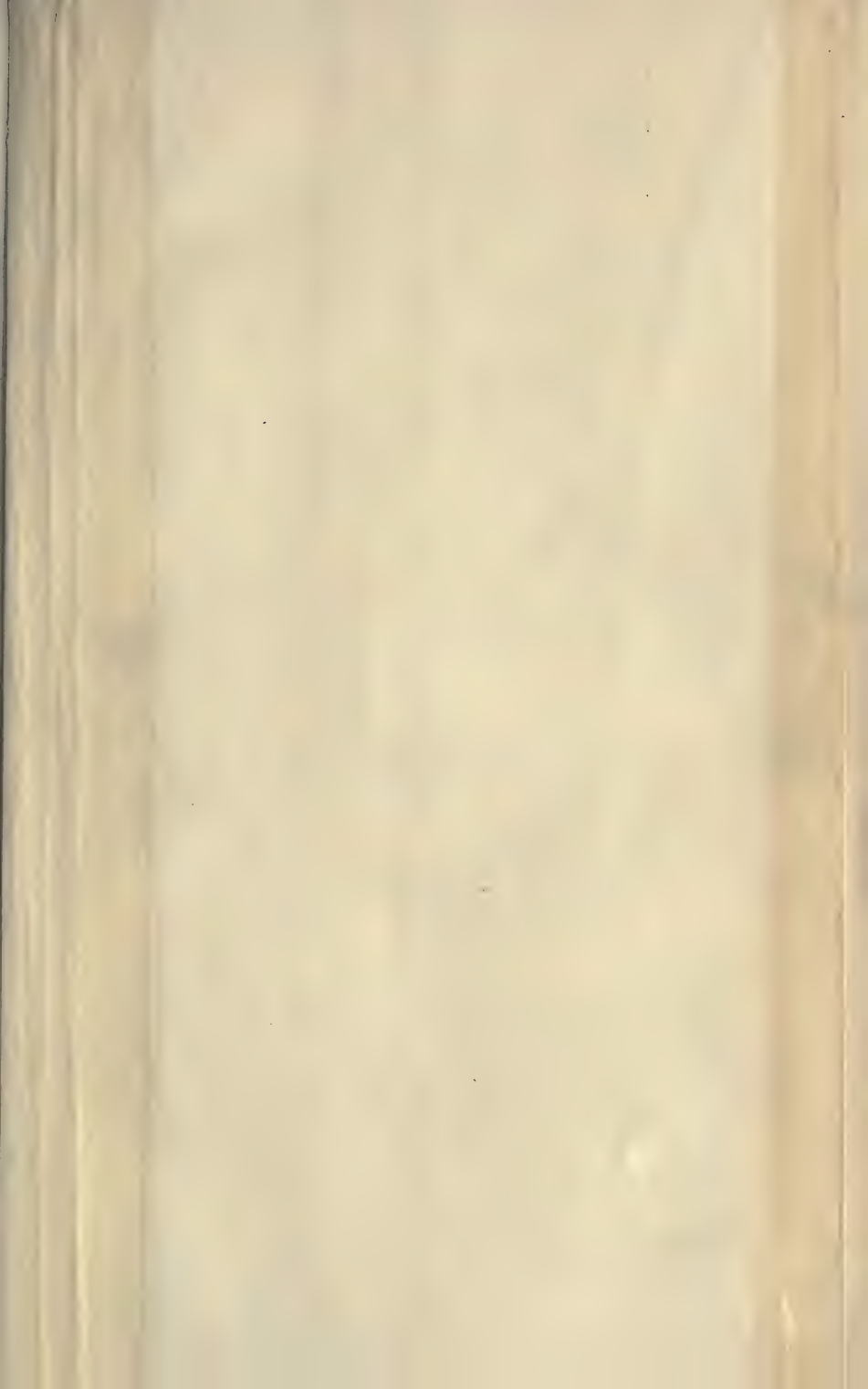
The hamlet of Naseby stands on a hill-top, on the north-western border of Northamptonshire, in the very heart of England. The high moor-ground is covered with clay hills, undulating for miles in extent. Early on the morning of June 14th (1645) the King marched his soldiers out on the moor and formed them on the elevated ground known as Dust Hill. A little later, General Fairfax, marching out from Naseby, ascended Mill Hill to reconnoitre the ground. Beside him was Cromwell, just arrived the day before with 600 horse from the fen country and received with a mighty shout of welcome by his Ironsides, who believed that victory abided in his presence. After inspecting the field the two generals began to withdraw into a hollow behind Mill Hill, seeking a better position; whereupon, the chafing and impatient Rupert, who was acting as his own scout-master, sent back a hasty message announcing to the King that the Roundheads were retreating and begging him to advance with all speed. The vantage ground on Dust Hill was accordingly forsaken, and the Cavaliers marched across the field for a mile and a half to meet the foe. Behind Lantford Hedge on the west side of the field, flanking the Cavaliers' march, Cromwell had placed his Anabaptist major, Okey. He himself took charge of the right wing with six regiments of horse. The left wing was commanded by Henry Ireton, the most uncompromising Republican of his time, a scholar, lawyer, and soldier, a man of good brain and stout heart, who, through Cromwell's good opinion of him, had that day been raised into high command from a Captain to Commissary-General of the Horse. In front of the Parliament centre was the "forlorn hope," or skirmish guard, who were expected to draw the first fire and feel the pulse of the enemy. In charge of the centre with Fairfax was old Philip Skippon, a Low Country soldier, the leader of the London trained bands, who had won the hearts of his men by this cheerful shout: "Come, my boys,

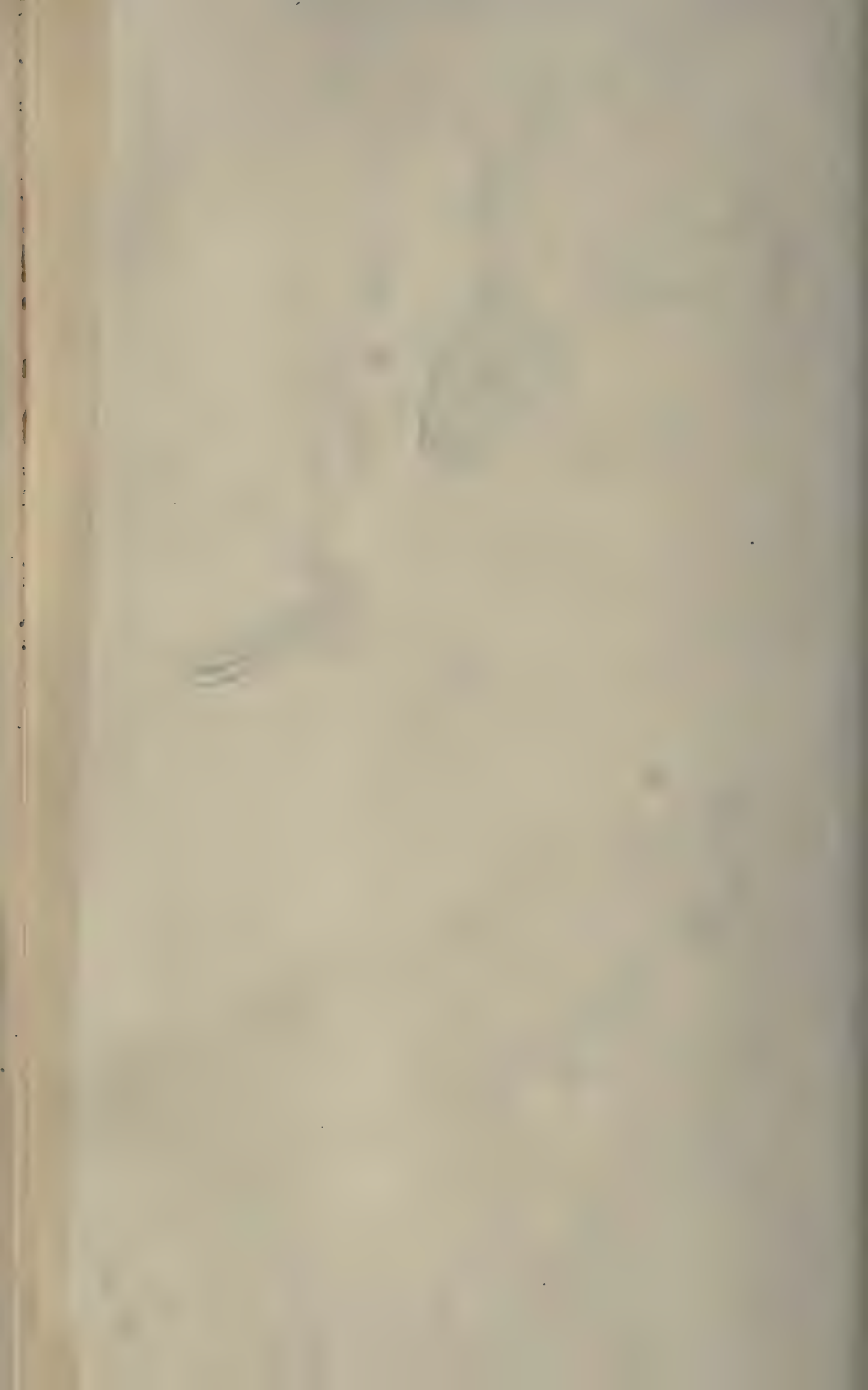
my brave boys! let us pray heartily and fight heartily. I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and your children!" Behind the centre with the reserve stood Colonel Pride and Colonel Hammond—the one to win future renown in the "Purge" of the Presbyterians from the Parliament, the other to meet his wandering King on an island and make him a hapless captive.

On the opposite side, as Generalissimo and directly commanding the main body, was the King, in full armour and splendidly mounted, destined that day to snatch from the wreck of his kingdom a reputation as one of the most gallant and courageous captains of his time. On the right wing was the fiery Prince and his invincible cavalry, smarting to meet Cromwell and avenge the beating inflicted on him at Marston Moor, but now facing Ireton. With Rupert was his brother, Prince Maurice, a saturnine but brave soldier. In Rupert's rear was the reserve, under the Earl of Lindsey and Sir Jacob Astley. The left wing, facing Cromwell, was commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, a pale and thin Yorkshireman, a stranger to fear, but the possessor of a temper which at times somewhat disturbed the equilibrium of his men. The Roundheads numbered nearly 14,000 men, and the Cavaliers about 7500.

Every division had its standard, and every regiment its colors. The buff standard of the Parliament, with its Bible and sacred inscription, was planted on Mill Hill. Over the King's centre waved the royal crimson banner, embroidered with a gold crown and lion. Near it was the Queen's white ensign with its *fleur-de-lis*. The flag of light-blue color on the right wing, emblazoned with the arms of the Palatinate, was Rupert's.

The royal Army advanced with so much alacrity across the rolling ground dividing Dust Hill from Mill Hill, that there was no time for turning their cannons ere the battle began. The guns of the Roundheads were placed so high on Mill Hill that they were equally useless, their fire going over the heads of the Cavaliers.





A rattling fire from the Anabaptist muskets behind the hedge emptied a few saddles as the Cavaliers charged past Okey's ambush. On they came, to the foot of Mill Hill, crying their battle word, "Queen Mary." The "forlorn hope" beheld their approach, and then turned with discretion and sought security amid the main ranks. Then came a shout from the Puritans, "God Our Strength," and the battle was on.

Rupert charged up the hill, his followers mowing a wide pathway through Ireton's squadrons. The gallant Roundhead tried to hold his men, but they were overridden and sabred by the young Palatine, swept down as by a wave from the sea, and covered with confusion and despair. Ireton's horse was shot under him. Regaining his feet, a pike was thrust into his thigh, and a halbert wounded his face. He was taken prisoner, but in the excitement of the pursuit he soon escaped and rallied some of his panic-stricken followers. And Rupert sped on over the sloping hills, his Cavaliers dealing death to a flying victim with every stroke of their flashing swords. Exhilarated by this chase for human game, they forgot about the battle on the plain, forgot their King, and left him to his defeat, never dreaming but they had won the day. When they turned back they stopped to plunder the waggon train, where John Rushworth was taking notes for the Parliament and for posterity; but a sudden thought of the King occurred to them, and they spurred back to the field, paying no heed to a parting volley from the waggon train.

When the Puritan main body was struck by the Cavaliers under the leadership of Charles, a like disaster seemed about to ensue. With the exception of Fairfax's own regiment, which held the Royalists in check, the front ranks broke and fled, but their enraged officers brought forward the reserves, which encouraged the others to advance again, and soon the two opposing hosts were battling at point of pike and thrust of sword, and clubbing their muskets, in the endeavour to win the day. Skippon was painfully shot in the side, and Fairfax urged him to leave the field, but he answered he would not stir so long as a man would stand. A blow from a sword beat off Fairfax's helmet, and he

rode about the field bareheaded, refusing to accept another from one of his officers. When his troops had become hardened to their work, he pointed to a division of the royal infantry which had seemed impregnable to every assault. "Can't those people be got at?" he inquired of one of his most active colonels; "have you charged them?" "Twice, General, but I could not break them." "Well, take them in front, I will take them in the rear, and we will meet in the middle," and under these tactics the royal foot gave way. Fairfax killed with his own hand an ensign, and caught the royal flag from his relaxing grasp. For three hours the fight was stubborn and furious, and long afterwards the regicide witnesses testified that the most fell where the King stood.

But there was another quarter of the field where the Parliamentary troops met a better fortune. On the right wing, Cromwell, with 3600 of the Ironsides, had charged Sir Marmaduke Langdale and his 2000 veterans, and again the gay Cavaliers fell like stubble to their swords. They made, indeed, a stout resistance; Whalley charged them once for Cromwell, and they repelled him. But when Oliver led his men, a new inspiration seized them. Shouting their psalms,¹ they rushed to victory, and literally pushed the Royalists off the field. Then the military caution of Cromwell was made to appear. He left a sufficient body of horse on the spot where he stopped his pursuit to keep Sir Marmaduke's squadrons from returning to the King's succour, perceiving, by the disappearance of Rupert, that the main body, bereft of the support of both wings, would be doomed to defeat. He then took the flower of his command and fell upon the King's centre.

In the meantime, Charles had carried himself with magnificent courage. At the moment when Cromwell had turned from his pursuit of Langdale, there had been a cessation of the conflict. This was caused by Fairfax calling off his troops to reform, while Ireton joined him with some of his fugitive horse on the left, and Cromwell was returning on the right. He had

¹ Sprigg, p. 6.

thus an army well formed in a manner as at the start, and he permitted his men to breathe before renewing the struggle. The sight struck the practised eye of Charles with dismay. But at that moment, Rupert, having perceived too late his fatal mistake, dashed on the field. There was still a large body of horse with the King, but they were weary and despondent. Charles, with despair stamped on every feature, waved his sword. "One charge more, gentlemen," he cried. "One charge more, and the day is ours!" There was an answering shout, and Charles would have put his life into that attempt. But the Earl of Carnwarth, seizing his bridle, checked his horse and turned him round. With a great oath the Earl cried: "Will you go upon your death in an instant?" The golden moment was lost. Before Charles could release his charger from the Earl's grasp, his followers had likewise turned their steeds. Cromwell was thundering on their rear. Fairfax and Ireton were charging on their flank. The retreat became a rout; and the Puritans, after killing 800 men, capturing the entire infantry, numbering nearly 5000, and taking the waggon train and all the artillery, arms, and ammunition, pursued the Cavaliers for twelve miles, until they sought shelter behind the walls of Leicester. ¹

The devout soul of Cromwell had but one explanation for this superb victory. He wrote to the Speaker of the House of Commons thus:

"Sir, this is none other but the hand of God; and to him alone belongs the glory, wherein none are to share with him. The General served you with all faithfulness and honour; and the best commendation I can give him is, that I daresay

¹ The materials for describing this battle are more numerous and more satisfactory than those relating to Marston Moor. First and best, there is Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 44, who was present; Sprigg (*Anglia Rediviva*, Oxford, 1854, p. 37), who was present; Clarendon, clearer here than at Marston Moor, vol. ii., p. 657; Whitelock, vol. i., p. 446; Sir Philip Warwick, p. 315. The best modern accounts are given by Carlyle, vol. i., p. 188; Warburton (not very reliable this time), vol. iii., p. 104; Guizot's *English Revolution*, p. 276; Hume, vol. iii., p. 310; Hosmer's *Young Sir Henry Vane*, p. 227; Forster, p. 460; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii., p. 230, and Gardiner, vol. iii., p. 196.

he attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume to himself. Which is an honest and thriving way : and yet as much for bravery may be given to him, in this action, as to a man. Honest men [here he alludes to his own followers, the Independents] served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty ; I beseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them. I wish this action may beget thankfulness and humility in all that are concerned in it. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience and you for the liberty he fights for. In this he rests who is your most humble servant,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”¹

¹ Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 188.





CHAPTER XVI.

CLOSE OF THE FIRST CIVIL WAR.

Charles Seeks Refuge in Hereford—The King's Cabinet Opened—His Political Duplicity—Rise of the Clubmen—Cromwell Disperses them—Charles Attempts a Battle on Rowton Heath—Is Badly Beaten—Cromwell Besieges Rupert in Bristol—His Curious Letter to the Prince—He Storms the City—Capitulation of Rupert—Charles Orders the Prince to Leave the Kingdom—Cromwell's Letter on the Affair—His Captures of Royalist Castles—His Assault on Basing House—Montrose Defeated in Scotland—The King's Troops Surrender—He Sues for Peace—The Parliament Avoids the Capture of his Person—His Flight to the Scottish Army—End of the War—Marriage of Cromwell's Daughter to Ireton.

THE King and Prince Rupert tarried but a few hours in Leicester, and then fled on with a broken following, riding all night to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and all the next day to Hereford, by which time they had begun to cherish a fatuous hope of raising a new army in a part of the country which was already exhausted by the ravages of the war. As soon as the King had established himself in some comfort at Hereford, Rupert, ever impatient in the presence of superior authority, rode off to Bristol to look after the defences of that great city.¹ Within a few days Leicester was surrendered back to the Parliament.

The Parliament then published the King's letters which had been taken at Naseby. Under the title of "The King's Cabinet Opened," this correspondence was spread before the eyes of Englishmen, and from it they learned that their King,

¹ Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 659.

although amiable and pure in his private character, was, in his political aspect, a creature of duplicity, whose conscience could not be bound by his most solemn asseverations.

On July 10th Fairfax met Goring at Langport and forced him to fight, severely defeating him. On July 23d he took Bridgewater, and on the 29th Bath surrendered to the Parliament, Rupert hovering four miles away, but not strong enough to give succour.¹

About this time the waste of war had produced violent discontent among a class of men who had refrained thus far from actively participating with either side. Under the name of Clubmen, these men banded together for the purpose of enforcing a peace. They had their greatest strength in the southwest counties. Prince Charles had recently been met with their importunities, and now, upon the approach of the Parliamentary Army, they renewed their demonstrations inso-much that Cromwell was despatched to disperse them. On August 4th he spied a party of about 4000 of them on a high hill near Shaftesbury, and sent to ask them the reason for their assembling. They fired on his guard, but with great forbearance he sent a second time commanding them to depart to their homes. They told his messengers they were Royalists, and that Lord Hopton was coming to command them, and then fired another volley, whereupon Cromwell charged them in front and rear, killed a few, wounded a great many, took 300 prisoners, and permitted the others to fly to their homes.² This ended the trouble with the Clubmen.

Soon after this the King, who was still an alert and energetic commander, rode into the counties of the Eastern Association, and took Cromwell's own town of Huntingdon. Going into the west again, he was attacked by the Roundhead troops under Poyntz and Jones on Rowton Heath (September 24, 1645), and after a spirited fight, was beaten with much loss, Lord Bernard Stuart being slain. After retreating into Wales,

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 62.

² Cromwell's letter to Fairfax, *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 192.

the King returned with Sir Marmaduke Langdale and 3000 men, and stormed and captured the Earl of Chesterfield's Castle at Shelford (November 3d).¹

It was now a question with the Parliamentary generals whether to follow Hopton and Goring into the south, or turn back and give their attention to Rupert. That Prince was again powerful. As Governor of Bristol he had recruited his forces, and was daily marauding the country, and inflicting terror and loss on all who were known to be well-affected to the Parliament. Besides, it was feared that if the Roundheads marched south, the Clubmen would join Rupert, and as there were some twelve or fifteen thousand of them, this was considered a sufficient reason for the determination which was now formed to march upon Bristol.

Bristol was the second city of importance in the kingdom. It was well prepared for a siege, being protected by stone walls and huge forts, in the midst of which was a feudal castle of great strength. The garrison numbered more than 2500 men, although Rupert afterwards claimed that he could never muster over 1500 at any one time during the siege. There was ample store of provision, the Prince having procured immense supplies of corn from Wales and driven in all the cattle from the surrounding country. While there was no Royalist army in the vicinity to give him immediate succour, Rupert could reasonably have assumed that either the King, Hopton, or Goring, being themselves relieved from pursuit, would recuperate their forces and march to his relief ere he could come to the last extremity of distress; and he had written to the King that he could hold the place for four months if there was no mutiny.

The siege began on Friday, August 22, 1645, and Fairfax and Cromwell placed their men on all sides, completely surrounding the city. Rupert displayed his usual heroic spirit and kept his cannon playing from the Great Fort. Watching for opportunities to catch the Puritans unawares he led out his

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 117.

men in various sallies, once making an attack with almost his entire command.

The Parliamentarians had been led to believe that a large portion of the inhabitants were in sympathy with their cause, and the two generals succeeded in passing printed circulars into the town, promising protection to any one who would commence a demonstration of revolt, and they even suggested that an effort be made to seize the Prince's person. But finding that they had been falsely informed in this, they determined to storm the walls. Before putting this plan in execution, Fairfax, undoubtedly at the instigation of Cromwell, addressed a curious letter to the Prince, and it is hard to say by how much his conduct afterwards was influenced by this epistle. After making the usual formal demand for the surrender of the city, Fairfax spoke of the Prince's royal birth, his relation to the Crown of England, the present troublous times, and the desire of all good men that peace might come. He praised Rupert's valour, and reminded him how much of the nation's gratitude would be his if, instead of wasting the blood of Englishmen, he would yield the city, and thus permit the approach of peace. He made the old arguments pointing to a distinction between the King's person and his office; promised punishment to the "evil counsellors," and said they were fighting for the constitutional principle of a government responsible to the whole nation as represented by the Parliament. He then urged him to surrender the city, and named an hour by which he would expect a reply.¹ This letter is not mentioned in some of the modern histories, but the present author believes that it was a stroke of diplomacy which affected the youthful Prince's judgment more powerfully than any actual military demonstration that was made during the siege. Rupert perceiving, as did all other Cavaliers, the utter hopelessness of a further protraction of the war, had only recently advised the King to sue for peace on the best terms he could get; to which Charles had made the mournful reply that, while ruin was indeed inevitable, he would

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 73.

not give up either his religion or his friends.¹ With this desolate situation before his eyes, Rupert, who lacked both the patience and the discretion which are essential to the commander of a beleaguered city, and whose boisterous spirit pined under the tedious restraints of a siege, may have secretly looked forward to some share of public approbation in the approaching day of the Parliament's triumph. But his loyalty never faltered, and he refused to deliver up his charge, although the correspondence concerning its evacuation was spun out for a full week's time in the hope that encouragement would be received from the King. On the 10th of September, after learning of another victory to Montrose in Scotland, Fairfax and Cromwell stormed the walls, commencing their assault at one o'clock in the morning. They met with a desperate resistance, and as some of the besiegers were required to mount scaling ladders of thirty steps, their undertaking was most hazardous. But by daybreak the Puritans had possessed themselves of the outer walls and forts, and driven the Prince and his garrison into the Great Fort and Castle. This was an almost impregnable position, which the Prince might have maintained for several weeks, but as some of his subordinate commanders were cut off from him in the lesser forts, and were in imminent peril of the last fate of soldiers, he sent a trumpeter to Fairfax to treat for a surrender, and on the next day, September 11th, having received fair terms, he marched out of Bristol at the head of his troops with all the honours of war, but carrying a broken heart under his steel corselet, and took his way to Oxford. Three days later a proclamation was issued by the King, revoking all the Prince's military commissions. An angry letter enclosed it to Rupert, directing him to leave the kingdom and seek his subsistence beyond seas, which in due time he did, accompanied by his brother Maurice.²

¹ Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 679.

² The proclamation and letters are printed in Warburton, vol. iii., pp. 162-185. As Prince Rupert will hereafter have but little to do with our story, it may be said now that after his unhappy departure from England he spent his time between Paris and The Hague until the death of Charles I. Charles II. then appointed him

Cromwell, who had been the chief actor in the scenes connected with the siege and capture of Bristol, was directed by Fairfax to write the official report to the Parliament, and after giving them a history of the affair, his deep conviction of a divine ordering of the result was set forth in these stern and glowing words:

"Thus I have given you a true, but not a full account of this great business; wherein he that runs may read, that all this is none other than the work of God. He must be a very Atheist that doth not acknowledge it: It may be thought that some praises are due to those gallant men, of whose valour so much mention is made:—their humble suit to you and all that have an interest in this blessing, is that in the remembrance of God's praises they be forgotten. It's their joy that they are instruments of God's glory and their country's good. It's their honour that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this service know, that faith and prayer obtained this City for you: I do not say ours only, but of the people of God with you and all England over, who have wrestled with God for a blessing in this very thing. Our desires are, that God may be glorified by the same spirit of faith by which we ask all our sufficiency and have received it. It is meet that He have all the praise. Presbyterians, Independents, all have here the same spirit of faith and prayer; the same presence and answer; they agree here, have no names of difference: pity it is it should be otherwise anywhere! All that believe, have the real unity, which is most glorious; because

Lord High Admiral, but without other fleet than a stray English or Spanish ship which he captured now and then on the high seas. His operations were as bold and reckless on the sea, and as barren of substantial results, as they had been on the land. He shared the common lot of poverty with the rest of the Cavaliers until the Restoration, when Charles gave him a place at Court. The energy which had made him a passionate and dramatic actor in the theatre of war, now moved him to honourable achievements in science and art. He is said to have invented that toy of philosophers, "Rupert's drop," a curious bubble of glass, somewhat pear-shaped, which is formed by dropping highly refined green glass, when melted, into cold water. Its thick end is so hard that it can scarcely be broken on an anvil, yet if the smallest part of its taper end be broken off, the whole flies at once into atoms and disappears. The Prince also discovered a method of boring guns, and another for tempering iron. He had great skill as a painter, and he invented the mezzotint process of engraving (*Evelyn's Diary*, March 16, 1661). He was again made Lord High Admiral of England, and having this time a government at his back, he handled the fleet well in the wars with Holland. He died on the 27th of November, 1682, aged sixty-three, "having maintained such good temper and exact neutrality," says Echard, "in the present unhappy divisions [*i. e.* the divisions between James II and his subjects], that he was honoured and respected by men of the most differing interests." His brother Maurice was lost at sea.

inward, and spiritual, in the Body, and to the Head.¹ For being united in forms, commonly called Uniformity, every Christian will for peace-sake study and do, as far as conscience will permit. *And for brethren, in things of the mind we look for no compulsion, but that of light and reason.* In other things, God hath put the sword in the Parliament's hands,—for the terror of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well. If any plead exemption from that,—he knows not the gospel: if any would wring that out of your hands, or steal it from you under what pretence soever, I hope they shall do it without effect. That God may maintain it in your hands, and direct you in the use thereof, is the prayer of your humble servant,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”²

After the taking of Bristol the Parliamentary forces divided, Fairfax with the main body going to Bath for rest and refreshment, while Cromwell, with the horse, went on an expedition against various small but troublesome garrisons which occupied the Royalist strongholds between London and the west. His first capture was the castle of the Devizes. The governor, Sir Charles Lloyd, when summoned to surrender, defiantly replied that Cromwell “must win and wear it.” But when the redoubtable Roundheads made a breach in the walls, and began to inflict the penalties of war on the defenders, the governor made haste to come to terms.³

Cromwell then approached Winchester Castle and what ensued shall be read in his own spirited account:

“To the Right Honourable SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, General of the Parliament's Army: These.

“WINCHESTER, 6th October, 1645.

“SIR:

“I came to Winchester on the Lord's day the 28th of September; with Colonel Pickering,—commanding his own, Colonel Montague's, and Sir Hardress Waller's regiments. After some dispute with the Governor, we entered the Town. I summonsed the Castle; was denied; whereupon we fell to prepare batteries,—which we could not perfect (some of our guns being out of order) until Friday following. Our battery was six guns; which being finished, after firing one round, I sent in a second summons for a treaty; which they refused. Whereupon we went on with our work, and made a breach in the wall near the Black Tower; which after about 200 shot, we thought stormable; and purposed on Monday

¹ The Head and the Body mean Christ and His True Church.

² *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 194.

³ Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 89.

morning to attempt it. On Sunday night about ten of the clock, the Governor beat a parley, desiring to treat. I agreed unto it; and sent Colonel Hammond and Major Harrison in to him, who agreed upon these enclosed Articles.

"Sir, this is the addition of another mercy. You see God is not weary in doing you good: I confess, Sir, His favour to you is as visible, when He comes by His power upon the hearts of your enemies, making them quit places of strength to you, as when He gives courage to your soldiers to attempt hard things. His goodness in this is much to be acknowledged: for the Castle was well manned with Six-hundred-and-eighty horse and foot, there being near two-hundred gentlemen, officers, and their servants: well victualled, with fifteen hundred-weight of cheese, very great store of wheat and beer; near twenty barrels of powder, seven pieces of cannon; the works were exceeding good and strong. It's very likely it would have cost much blood to have gained it by storm. We have not lost twelve men: this is repeated to you, that God may have all the praise, for it's all His due. —Sir, I rest, your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." ¹

The messenger who brought this welcome tidings to London, who chanced to be the celebrated army chaplain, Hugh Peters, was voted fifty pounds for his good news.

It appears that "these enclosed articles" were violated by the Roundhead soldiers in plundering their prisoners; whereupon, complaint being made to Cromwell, he instantly brought six of his soldiers before a court-martial. They were duly found guilty and one was by lot hanged, and the other five were marched off to Oxford for such punishment as the Royalist governor desired to mete to them. But that officer returned the prisoners to Cromwell with a polite acknowledgment "of the Lieutenant-General's nobleness." ²

Cromwell then turned towards Basing House, the most formidable castle in the south, which had already resisted both siege and assault. Its walls were a mile around. The old castle had stood for several centuries and a newer one had recently been reared beside it. Its owner, the Marquis of Winchester, had used a refined taste and an ample purse to adorn it with pictures, sculpture, and furniture, and his own private bed-chamber had been supplied with a luxury which amazed the stiff-necked Roundheads when they plundered it.

¹ Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 201.

² Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 91.

Cromwell planted his batteries the night before the assault, and then, with his Ironsides about him, he called on the Most High to sustain him on the morrow. "He spent much time with God in prayer the night before the storm," said Chaplain Hugh Peters, in his narration to the Parliament, "and he seldom fights without some text of Scripture to support him." The Psalm which he chose for the edification of his men was the 115th. The pleading tones of his voice in the solemn quiet of that dark night resound in fancy's ear now:

"Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory; for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake. Wherefore should the Heathen say, Where is now their Lord? Our God is in the Heavens; he hath done whatsoever he hath pleased. Their idols are silver and gold; the work of men's hands. They have mouths, but they speak not; eyes have they, but they see not; they have ears, but they hear not; noses have they, but they smell not; they have hands, but they handle not; feet have they, but they walk not; neither speak they through their throat! They that make them are like unto them; so is every one that trusteth in them!"

With a firm faith in the righteousness of this denunciation of their foes, they stormed the breastworks at daybreak with irresistible fury, and soon were masters of the place. A large part of the garrison was put to the sword, the stately pile was burned, and all its costly treasures which escaped the flames were carried off for spoil. This was an achievement of the highest importance, and Cromwell wrote the following account of it to the Parliament:

"To the HONOURABLE WILLIAM LENTHAL, Speaker of the Commons' House of Parliament: These.

"BASINGSTOKE, 14th October, 1645.

"SIR:

"I thank God, I can give you a good account of Basing. After our batteries placed, we settled the several posts for the storm; Colonel Dalbier was to be on the north side of the House next the Grange; Colonel Pickering on his left hand, and Sir Hardress Waller's and Colonel Montague's regiments next him. We stormed, this morning, after six of the clock: the signal for falling-on was the firing four of our cannon; which being done our men fell on with great resolution and cheerfulness. We took the two houses without any considerable loss to ourselves. Colonel Pickering stormed the New House, passed through, and got the gate of the Old House; whereupon they summoned a parley, which our men would not hear.

"In the meantime Colonel Montague's and Sir Hardress Waller's regiments assaulted the strongest work, where the Enemy kept his Court of Guard ; which, with great resolution, they recovered ; beating the Enemy from a whole culverin, and from that work : which having done, they drew their ladders after them, and got over another work, and the house-wall, before they could enter. In this Sir Hardress Waller, performing his duty with honour and diligence, was shot in the arm, but not dangerously.

"We have had little loss : many of the enemy our men put to the sword, and some officers of quality ; most of the rest we have prisoners, amongst whom the Marquis of Winchester himself, and Sir Robert Peak, with divers other officers, whom I have ordered to be sent up to you. We have taken about ten pieces of ordnance, with much ammunition, and our soldiers a good encouragement.

"I humbly offer to you, to have this place utterly slighted, for these following reasons : It will ask about Eight-hundred men to manage it ; it is no frontier ; the country is poor about it ; the place exceedingly ruined by our batteries and mortar pieces, and by a fire which fell upon the place since our taking it. If you please to take the Garrison at Farnham, some out of Chichester, and a good part of the foot which were here under Dalbier, and to make a strong Quarter at Newbury with three or four troops of horse, I dare be confident it would not only be a curb to Dennington, but a security and frontier to all these parts ; in as much as Newbury lies upon the River, and will prevent any incursion from Dennington, Wallingford, or Farrington into these parts ; and by lying there, will make the trade most secure between Bristol and London for all carriages. And I believe the gentlemen of Sussex and Hampshire will with more cheerfulness contribute to maintain a garrison on the frontier than in their bowels, which will have less safety in it.

"Sir, I hope not to delay, but to march toward the West to-morrow ; and to be as diligent as I may in my expedition thither. I must speak my judgment to you, That if you intend to have your work carried on, recruits of Foot must be had, and a course taken to pay your Army ; else, believe me, Sir, it may not be able to answer the work you have for it to do.

"I entrusted Colonel Hammond to wait upon you, who was taken by a mistake whilst we lay before this Garrison, whom God safely delivered to us, to our great joy ; but to his loss of almost all he had, which the Enemy took from him. The Lord grant that these mercies may be acknowledged with all thankfulness : God exceedingly abounds in His goodness to us, and will not be weary until righteousness and peace meet ; and until He hath brought forth a glorious work for the happiness of this poor Kingdom. Wherein desires to serve God and you, with a faithful heart, your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL,"¹

When Cromwell drew up his men before Langford House, the terror of his name and the uselessness of a defence united to produce a surrender without opposition.²

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, letter xxxii.

² Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 94.

Indeed, strong castles could now be had almost for the asking, so swift was the decline of the King's fortunes. Fairfax was taking his share of them. Tiverton Castle was stormed and captured, likewise the town of Dartmouth, and then Hopton, the best of the King's generals, was beaten at Torrington.

The King turned his eyes to Scotland. From the blackness of his ruin he saw the star of Montrose rise luminous with glory across the Tweed. Charles determined to join him, and, reclaiming Scotland, rest content with the single crown of his ancestors. Already David Leslie had been despatched to Scotland to command the Covenanters, who were in terror now with Montrose thundering at the gates of Edinburgh. The King was prepared to go to his successful general, who had only recently won two great victories, at Alford and Kilsyth, when a messenger brought him the gruesome tidings that Leslie had met and vanquished Montrose at Philiphaugh (September 13, 1645). Oxford was now the only spot in his kingdom which Charles could claim as his own, and thither he repaired and passed a cheerless winter. Before the snows of early March (1646) had melted, Lord Hopton surrendered his army in Cornwall to Fairfax, and followed the Cavaliers who had already gone beyond seas. A few days later that fine old knight, Sir Jacob Astley, while on his way to Oxford, was defeated and captured at Stow, among the wolds of Gloucestershire, surrendering himself with these scornful words: "You have now done your work and may go to play—unless you will fall out among yourselves."

The Parliamentary Army made no attempt to capture the King's person. That was the one thing which, all through the war, they had tried not to do. It was their policy to waste him, to wear him out. But to take him prisoner, to see him absolutely at their mercy, was a climax which would bring many embarrassments in its train, and they had avoided it.

Charles had begun earnestly to sue for peace. He sent three several messages to the Parliament on this subject in the month of December (1645), to the last of which they made a cold reply that they would in due time present to him some

propositions for peace. He continued to write frequently to the Parliament, his last message bearing date the 23d of March, 1646, but his urgent, even humble, appeals were received with silent disdain.¹ Two hundred and thirty-five new members had recently been elected to Parliament to fill the seats of the disqualified Royalist members, and that body, now compact and victorious, was in no mood for a peace which would extend any generous concessions to the beaten foe.

Fairfax, returning victorious from the capture of Hopton's army in the west, stopped to take Exeter, and then drew on towards Oxford. Charles sent a message to Ireton, who was with Fairfax, offering to place himself in the custody of the Commissary-General if Ireton would attend him with the Army to the Parliament and prevail on them to receive him with honour and freedom.² The bearer of this desperate message was never permitted to return.

There was now but one step left for the King to take. To be carried back to London a prisoner would be an insufferable indignity. But his expatriated Queen had been urging him from her Parisian retreat to seek his safety in the army of the Scots. A French ambassador had obtained the promise of the Scottish chiefs that they would receive Charles under their protection. The King determined to fly to their camp. Always visionary in his statemanship, he imagined that he could magnify the jealousies which were well known to exist between the Scottish and the English Armies, so that he might still be enabled in the end to dictate terms by military force.

On Monday, near midnight of the 27th of April, 1646, the King rode out of Oxford in disguise, accompanied by only two persons, Dr. Hudson, a clergyman, and John Ashburnham, groom of the bed-chamber, whose servant the King assumed to be. They went quietly to Newark, where Leven was conducting a siege, and there the King gave himself into the custody of the Scottish invaders, and ordered the Governor of Newark

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi., pp. 215-222.

² *A Narrative*, by John Ashburnham, London, 1830, 2 vols., vol. ii., p. 71.

to surrender his city to the Parliament, which was accordingly done. He likewise despatched instructions to those loyal garrisons which were still suffering the hardship of siege, to surrender on honourable terms. In a short time the Marquis of Ormond in Ireland, the Marquis of Montrose in Scotland, and the Marquis of Worcester in Wales laid down their arms, while Oxford and all the King's castles in England were given over to the Parliament, and in August, 1646, the First Civil War was ended, after having raged with great bitterness and much bloodshed for four years.

While the army of Fairfax lay before Oxford waiting only for the completion of the articles of surrender to take possession of the last royal stronghold, Bridget Cromwell, now a little past twenty-one years old, and escorted by her father, came to Lady Whorwood's house at Holton, which was the headquarters of Fairfax. Thither also came Commissary-General Henry Ireton, who had found opportunity in spite of battles and sieges to win the heart of Cromwell's daughter. So on June 15, 1646, Mr. Dell, the General's chaplain, performed the ceremony which made Ireton and Bridget husband and wife.

With the cessation of war, Cromwell resumed his seat in Parliament, passing frequently, however, between Westminster and the Army. His letters disclose many times the kindness of his heart which made him ever ready to speak in behalf of those who sought his influence. Here is one in the interest of some "Honest poor neighbors," the exact nature of whose oppression we cannot now discover, but they had doubtless gone or sent to London to see Cromwell, who took up their affair with compassionate attention :

"For my noble Friend THOMAS KNYVETT, ESQUIRE, at his House at Ashwellthorpe : These.

"LONDON, 27th July, 1646.

"SIR :

"I cannot pretend any interest in you for anything I have done, nor ask any favour for any service I may do you. But because I am conscious to myself of a readiness to serve any gentlemen in all possible civilities, I am bold to be beforehand with you to ask your favour on behalf of your honest poor neighbours of

Hapton, who, as I am informed, are in some trouble, and are likely to be put to more, by one Robert Browne, your Tenant, who, not well pleased with the way of these men, seeks their disquiet all he may.

"Truly nothing moves me to desire this more than the pity I bear them in respect of their honesties, and the trouble I hear they are likely to suffer for their consciences. And however the world interprets it, I am not ashamed to solicit for such as are anywhere under pressure of this kind; doing even as I would be done by. Sir, this is a quarrelsome age; and the anger seems to me to be the worse, where the ground is difference of opinion;—which to cure, to hurt men in their names, persons or estates, will not be found an apt remedy. Sir, it will not repent you to protect those poor men of Hapton from injury and oppression: which that you would is the effect of this Letter. Sir, you will not want the grateful acknowledgement, nor utmost endeavours of requital from your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."¹

But the real sweetness and tenderness of Cromwell's disposition were reserved for his immediate family. He loved his children with touching affection, and the meagre lot of letters preserved from those which he wrote to them, reveal better than any other existing evidence his true piety and greatness. There is a spirit of playfulness in this one to Ireton's bride, and yet his solicitude for her happiness and spiritual welfare is reflected in every line. Her "Sister Claypole" is Elizabeth Cromwell, married in the preceding spring, now but seventeen, and always her father's favourite child. "Your friends at Ely" implies that the Cromwell family had not yet removed from Ely to London:

"For my beloved Daughter BRIDGET IRETON, at Cornbury,

"General's Quarters: These.

"LONDON, 25th Oct., 1646.

"DEAR DAUGHTER,

"I write not to thy Husband; partly to avoid trouble, for one line of mine begets many of his, which I doubt makes him sit up too late; partly because I am myself indisposed at this time, having some other considerations.

"Your Friends at Ely are well: your Sister Claypole is, I trust in mercy, exercised with some perplexed thoughts. She sees her own vanity and carnal mind; bewailing it: she seeks after (as I hope also) what will satisfy. And thus to be a seeker is to be of the best sect next to a finder; and such an one shall every faithful humble seeker be at the end. Happy seeker, happy finder! Who ever tasted that the Lord is gracious, without some sense of self, vanity and badness? Who

¹ *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 214.

ever tasted that graciousness of His, and could go less in desire,—less than pressing after full enjoyment? Dear Heart, press on; let not Husband, let not anything cool thy affections after Christ. I hope he [*i.e.*, thy Husband] will be an occasion to inflame them. That which is best worthy of love in thy Husband is that of the image of Christ he bears. Look on that and love it best, and all the rest for that. I pray for thee and him; do so for me.

“My service and dear affections to the General and Generaless. I hear she is very kind to thee; it adds to all other obligations. I am thy dear Father,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”¹

¹ *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, letter xli.





CHAPTER XVII.

THE ARMY AGAINST THE PARLIAMENT.

Political Effect of the King's Surrender to the Scots—Charles Renews his Intrigues—Rejects the Parliament's Terms of Peace—The Scots Surrender his Person for Gold—Jealousy between Army and Parliament—The Agitators—Cromwell's Control of his Party—The Parliament Turns to the King—Joyce's Seizure of Charles—Accusation against Cromwell in Parliament—The Army Draws near to London—Charles Petitions to See his Children—Cromwell Touched at his Interview with them—Charles Rejects Cromwell's Proposals—The Army Enters London—Cromwell Discovers the King's Treachery—Charles is Made Prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle—Cromwell Subdues a Mutiny—He Endeavours to Reconcile Army and Parliament—The Puritans Resolve to Put Charles on Trial for his Life.

THE unexpected surrender of King Charles to the Scottish Army produced a profound emotion among the English Puritans. Before receiving intelligence of his arrival at Newark, they feared that he had come secretly to London, and the Parliament gave notice that instant death would be the portion of any one who should harbour or conceal him. An official communication from the Scots soon informed them of the King's whereabouts, and assured them of the undying fidelity with which their existing engagements with the Parliament would be discharged. The English at once asserted their right to the custody of the King's person; and the Scots, not ready to yield so splendid an advantage, folded their tents and marched into the north, never pausing until they reached Newcastle.

In truth, King Charles, as soon as he laid aside the armour of a heroic commander had again assumed the character of a

purblind politician. His surrender to the Scots was but part of a visionary expectation of reclaiming his authority by exciting the jealousy of his foes. His Queen had shortly before despatched Montreuil with plenary powers from the Court of France to negotiate for Scottish aid ; and on the eve of departing from Oxford Charles had written to the Marquis of Ormond in Ireland in these words :

“ Having lately received very good security that We, and all that do and shall adhere to Us, shall be safe in our persons, honours, and consciences in the Scottish army ; and that they shall really and effectually join with us, and with such as will come in to us, and join with them for our preservation, and shall employ their armies and forces to assist us to the procuring of an happy and well-grounded peace, for the good of Us and our Kingdoms, in the recovery of our just right ; we have resolved to put ourselves to the hazard of passing into the Scots’ army, now lying before Newark. And if it shall please God that we come safe thither, we are resolved to use our best endeavour, with their assistance and with the conjunction of the forces under the Marquis of Montrose, and such of our well affected subjects of England as shall rise for us, to procure, if it may be, an honourable and speedy peace with those who have hitherto refused to give any ear to any means tending thereto.”¹

How far Montreuil had failed to procure for the king that dutiful homage which Charles had fondly hoped to receive, was shown on the first night of his entrance into the Scottish camp. He was treated with outward marks of extreme respect ; but under the pretext of furnishing a guard for his person he was immediately surrounded by armed sentries, and when, endeavouring to ascertain his real position, he attempted to give out the watchword for the night, the Earl of Leven interrupted him with : “ Pardon me, Sire. I am the oldest soldier here: Your Majesty will permit me to undertake that duty.”²

The Scottish Army soon presented a petition to the King praying him to sign the Covenant. If he had yielded promptly to them in this desire it is possible that they, as Presbyterians, would have turned upon the Parliamentary Independents, and begun another war. But Charles refused.

Then came propositions from the Parliament for peace, con-

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 266.

² Guizot’s *English Revolution*, p. 300.

taining the old conditions requiring him to destroy the Episcopal Church, to sign the Covenant, to give over all his old commanders, including the two Palatine Princes, to punishment, to incapacitate all who had borne arms on his side for public employment, and to confiscate the estates of the Cavaliers for the payment of the public debts.¹ The King spurned these proposals.

Alexander Henderson, a noted Scotch divine, about this time entered into a controversy with the King concerning the true religion. James I. had long ago said of Charles: "I tell ye, Charles shall manage a point in controversy with the best studied divine of ye all." In these arguments with Henderson Charles confirmed the high opinion which his father had expressed. Deprived of books and of the company of the Episcopal doctors, he met every statement of Henderson with so much learning and adroitness that the Scot was completely discomfited, and retired to Scotland to die within a few weeks,—some said on account of his deep vexation.²

On an occasion when Charles attended their religious services, a stern preacher ordered this psalm to be sung:

"Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself
Thy wicked deeds to praise?"

The King stood up, and plaintively requested this one to be substituted:

"Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray;
For men would me devour."³

From May, 1646, to January, 1647, the negotiations between the English Parliament and the Scottish commissioners, touching the disposal of the King's person, were carried on with much circumlocution, the end of which was, that Scotland agreed to recall her Army and leave the King behind, in con-

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 309.

² *Literary Character of Men of Genius: James the First*, by Isaac Disraeli (Armstrong), p. 513.

³ Whitelock, in Hume.

sideration of the payment of £400,000, one half of which was in cash. It was a cruel and heartless affair of money, which has left an ineffaceable stigma upon the Scots. They stipulated, indeed, that, until a formal peace was executed between the King and his Parliament, no harm, prejudice, injury, or violence should be done to his person, nor his posterity be prejudiced in their succession to the Crown. But no hostages were taken for the performance of these conditions, and they were forgotten in the madness which ensued. The Scots had indeed endeavoured to reconcile the King and his people. The Scottish Chancellor, Loudon, had implored Charles to yield to the Parliament's terms. "All England will rise against you," he had said; "they will process and depose you, and set up another government." But these prophetic words could not provoke Charles to a wise policy. He rejected the overtures.¹ On January 30, 1647, the Scots marched out of Newcastle, leaving the King, who was anxious to accompany them to Edinburgh, in the hands of General Skippon and the English commissioners. His Majesty was then conveyed to Holmby (or Holdenby) House, in Nottinghamshire, under the escort of Fairfax, where he was kept in the state pertaining to his rank, but a prisoner to his Parliament.²

The war being ended, the nation was surprised to see that their happiness was not yet secured. In fact, the situation was graver and more perilous than ever. The Presbyterian majority in Parliament, supported by the entire populace of the City of London, conceived a jealousy and mistrust of the Army, as representing the Independent party out of which it was organised. In this Parliamentary faction were some of the supplanted commanders of the old Army, among them Sir William Waller and Denzil Hollis. It was proposed to send 12,000 men of the Army to Ireland under Skippon, and to disband the others. The soldiers refused to march except under their present commanders, nor would they consent to disband until large arrearages of pay were settled, and other grievances redressed.

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi., pp. 319-321.

² Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 398.

Cromwell, for the most part, kept his seat in Parliament, although his passages between Westminster and the Army, which was now forbidden to approach nearer than twenty-five miles to London, were frequent. He wrote to Fairfax:

"We have had a very long petition from the City; how it strikes at the army, and what other aims it has, you will see by the contents of it; and also what is the prevailing temper at this present, and what is to be expected from men. But this is our comfort, God is in Heaven, and He doth what pleaseth Him; His, and only His counsel shall stand, whatsoever the designs of men, and the fury of the people be."¹

But the course of the Presbyterians in dealing with the Army became very obnoxious to the Independents, and on one occasion, when there was a heated debate, Cromwell, indicating the policy which already filled his mind, whispered to Edmund Ludlow: "These men will never leave till the Army pull them out by the ears."² In a letter to Fairfax he wrote:

"There want not, in all places, men who have so much malice against the army as besots them: the late Petition, which suggested a dangerous design upon the Parliament in your coming to those quarters, doth sufficiently evidence the same: but they got nothing by it, for the Houses did assail the army from all suspicion, and have left you to quarter where you please. Never were the spirits of men more embittered than now. Surely the Devil hath but a short time. Sir, it's good the heart be fixed against all this. The naked simplicity of Christ, with that wisdom he is pleased to give, and patience, will overcome all this. That God would keep your heart as he has done hitherto, is the prayer of your Excellency's most humble servant," etc.³

The various troops composing the Army appointed commissioners to represent their grievances, the private soldiers of each troop or company choosing two persons to form a kind of subordinate council, while the officers elected themselves into a higher assembly; but this plan was soon changed, and two persons, either privates or officers, were elected for each regiment. These men were called Agitators, or Agents of the

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 224.

² Ludlow's *Memoirs*, Switzerland, 1698, vol. i., p. 189.

³ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 226.

Army.¹ The Agitators held many conferences with the Parliamentary committees, but without arriving at satisfactory conclusions. How far the events, which soon forced this controversy into a quarrel, were controlled by Cromwell, is a matter which recent research has lifted out of the obscured realm of conjecture; and we now know that he was steadfastly opposed to violence so long as there was hope for the ultimate potency of reason and right.² "No one rises so high," Cromwell declared to the French Ambassador, "as he who knows not whither he is going." And it was this philosophic observation which led Cardinal de Retz, through a mistake of judgment, to call him a fortunate fool. From the time of the Self-Denying Ordinance, he was the dominant force and spirit of his age. It must be admitted that the adoption of a definite policy, at the close of the war, by the Army and its adherents, against the ascendancy of the Presbyterian Parliament, unquestionably had its birth in the profound depths of his intellect. In the committee rooms at the camp he soon displayed that mastery over the minds of men which had made them the instruments of his will on the field of war. By whatever could honestly appeal to their private interest, their individual ambition, their religious zeal, or their self-love, he brought the faithful companions of his battles to join with him in working out the salvation of England. His own enthusiasm for religious and political liberty the Independents could not resist. His belief in the destiny of the Army to cure the present evils inflamed the ardour of his soldiers. Without

¹ Dr. Murray, in his *New English Dictionary* ("Agitators"), has made it clear that the correct form of this word is Agitators, and not Adjutators, as commonly used. Prof. Gardiner (*Great Civil War*, vol. iii., p. 60) gives the chronology of the word from its first appearance in the official documents, showing that Agitators is right.

² The *Clarke Papers*, published (1891) by the Camden Society, under the editorship of Mr. C. H. Firth, contain the stenographic report of the debates on this subject, and show us Cromwell speaking always dispassionately for prudent and honourable measures. While the Agitators were ever ready to propose a prayer meeting as the best source of guidance, Cromwell preferred to adjust all important questions through the medium of committees.—*Clarke Papers*, pp. 34, 72, 140, 177, 178, 183, 188, 190, 201, 205, 209, 211, 212, 229, 305.

treachery or tergiversation, he was all things to all men. Ireton, a zealous and intellectual Republican, followed him with implicit faith. Lambert, ambitious, vain, and brilliant, gave him a soldier's devotion. Harrison, seeking after righteousness, found a kindred spirit in Cromwell's pious soul. Hammond was under obligations to him for promoting his marriage with a daughter of John Hampden. Pride, Rainsborough, and the others adhered to him, because his superior soul forced their homage.

"What misery" he said, when deftly sounding young Ludlow, "to serve a Parliament! to whom, let a man be never so faithful, if one pragmatistical fellow amongst them rise up and asperse him, he shall never wipe it off; whereas, when one serves under a General, he may do as much service, and yet be free from all blame and envy. If thy father were alive," and there is the voice of Cassius in this incitement—"he would soon let some of them hear what they deserve."¹ But the genius of Cromwell had begun to dominate his country now insomuch that he had become an object of hatred and envy to all those who opposed him on either religious or political grounds. This feeling had recently made itself manifest by a vote in the Commons (March 8, 1647) that there should be no officer in the Army with rank above that of colonel; that no member of the House of Commons should hold command in England, and that no person who refused to sign the Covenant should be an officer at all.² The good fortune of the Lieutenant-General,

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 185.

² Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, vol. iii., p. 33. It is with amazement that the student of the Cromwellian epoch comes for the first time upon the announcement made in Prof. Gardiner's third volume of his *Great Civil War* (p. 36), that Cromwell was so much discouraged by the opposition of the Presbyterians in Parliament, as shown in this vote, that he "was weighing, in frequent conferences with the Elector Palatine, a proposal to transfer himself, with as many of the victors of Naseby as he could carry with him, to the battle fields of Germany." The evidence on which this wholly new theory is founded is very slight indeed. This consists of a despatch sent by Bellievre, the French Ambassador, who states that Charles Lewis, the Elector Palatine, had intended to ask Parliament for troops "et qu'il avoit en ce sujet de grandes conferences avec Cromwell—qui se croyoit lors necessite de quitter l'Angleterre." It could not, however, have made more than a

however, was steadfast in this emergency, and while the vote was aimed at him and at him alone, no attempt was made to enforce it.

The spirit of mutiny in the Army was now become ominous. The soldiers had not received their pay for many months, and they learned with much disfavour that there was an intention on the part of the Government to disband some of the forces and send others to Ireland. Most of the regiments had refused to obey the commands of their officers, and they forced Fairfax to call a council of war at which the officers and the agitators voted that the proposals of the Parliament were not satisfactory.

The Parliament and the City with one accord turned their eyes towards the King at Holmby House. That Monarch had not been treated with great magnanimity. In its contempt for the Episcopal Church the Parliament had twice refused him the attendance of his chaplains, and would have compelled him to accept the services of their own divines; his trusted servants had been removed from him; his correspondence with his wife, his children, and his nearest friends had been cut off. Yet they had permitted him to enjoy the ceremonies of his royal state. Their commissioners were treated kindly by him; they attended him at his games and in his walks. The Lords requested the King to reside nearer London; the Commons, without joining in the vote, entertained the same wish. There were mysterious letters passing back and forth, and a hope began to take deep root in the breast of the Londoners that the King would soon return to his Parliament, and tranquillity in all things ensue. Suddenly, the news was brought to the startled Parliament, that the Army had seized the King's person.

It was on the 2d of June, 1647, after dinner, while the King was playing at bowls on Althorpe Down, two miles from Holmby, that the commissioners who accompanied him re-

momentary impression on Cromwell's mind, similar to that of his fear that the Grand Remonstrance would fail, in which case he declared to Lord Digby he would have quitted England forever.

marked the presence of a stranger in the uniform of Fairfax's regiment. When they demanded his name he answered them haughtily and with reserve. A report was circulated that a large body of horse was approaching, and the players immediately returned to the castle. Near midnight five hundred troops arrived under the walls, and demanded entrance. When asked who commanded them, they replied, "We all command." Then the stranger who had appeared on Althorpe Down, came forward. "My name is Joyce," said he. "I am a cornet in the General's guard; I want to speak to the King." "From whom?" said they on the wall. "From myself," answered Joyce, whereat they all laughed derisively. "It's no laughing matter," cried the midnight intruder; "I come not hither to be advised by you; I have no business with the commissioners; my errand is to the King, and speak with him I must, and will presently." The commandant of the garrison ordered his soldiers to hold themselves in readiness to fire, but they had by this time been in free conversation with Joyce's men, who, entering the gates and dismounting, announced that they had come, by order of the Army, to place the King in safety, as there was a plot to carry him off, take him to London, raise other troops, and begin another civil war; and the chief conspirator, they said, was Colonel Greaves, the commandant of Holmby House. Greaves fled and Joyce took command of the castle. By this time it was past noon of the 3d, and Joyce retired until evening to give his men repose.

At ten o'clock that night he requested to be taken to the King, but was told that he was in bed. He replied that he did not care; he had waited long enough; and he must see him. With a cocked pistol in his hand he approached the apartments occupied by Charles. "I am sorry," said he to the attendants, "to disturb the rest of His Majesty; but I cannot help it; I must needs speak with him, and that at once." The altercation aroused the King, who gave orders that he should be admitted, and Joyce entered the royal presence still carrying his pistol. The King sent for the commissioners, and, after a long interview, assured Joyce that, if his soldiers con-

firmed what the Cornet had promised, he would go with him. The next morning at six o'clock the King appeared at the top of the stairs and beheld Joyce's men on horseback in the castle yard. He demanded by what authority Joyce pretended to seize him and take him away. "Sir," replied the bold young man, "I am sent by authority of the Army, to prevent the designs of its enemies, who would once more plunge the Kingdom in blood." Charles pressed him to specify by whom he had been sent, but Joyce refused to be more explicit than simply to say, the Army, and when the King asked him where was his commission, he pointed behind him to his men, and said, "There!" "Believe me," answered the King, smiling, "your instructions are written in very legible characters; 't is truly a fair commission." The King then rode off with them to Hinchinbrook, and thence to Childersley, near Cambridge.

At the same moment a messenger was despatched to London bearing a letter from Joyce to Cromwell that all had succeeded. Oliver was with the Army, and the letter was given to Colonel Fleetwood. Fairfax was undoubtedly in complete ignorance of what had occurred until Cromwell told him, and he was much troubled. "I do not like it," he said to Ireton; "who gave such orders?" Ireton replied that he had ordered that the King be secured at Holmby, but not carried away. And Cromwell, who had inspired it all, said sternly that it was quite necessary, or the King would have been taken back to the Parliament. Fairfax sent Whalley with two regiments to meet the King and escort him back to Holmby House, but Charles refused to return, and two days afterwards (June 7th) Fairfax and his staff, Cromwell, Ireton, Skippon, Hammond, Lambert, and Rich, presented themselves to the King at Childersley, where all respectfully kissed his hand. Fairfax protested that he knew nothing of the King's removal. "I will not believe it," said Charles, "unless you have Joyce forthwith hanged." But in spite of his assumed indignation, Charles was secretly pleased to see the dissensions between the Parliament and the Army take this violent turn.¹

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 513; Hollis's *Memoirs*, p. 96; Huntingdon's *Sundry*

On receiving intelligence of the King's seizure, the Parliament expressed disapprobation of the act, and their indignation was so intense that Cromwell thought it prudent to go at once to the Army, fearing arrest. The Parliament (August 2, 1647) sent an invitation to Charles to come to London, assuring him that he should reside there with honour, freedom, and safety, and that they would at once endeavour to secure a safe and well grounded peace.¹

"Cromwell began now," says Whitelock, "to mount still higher, and carried his business with great subtilty." His enemies attempted to ruin him, and Sir Harbottle Grimstone made an accusation against him in the House of Commons of plotting to destroy the Parliament. Two witnesses related the story of how he had told them that he would use the Army to purge the House of Commons. When they had withdrawn, Cromwell arose, and falling on his knees, and in a passion of tears, sobs, and exclamations, vowed before High Heaven that no man in the kingdom was more faithful to that House than he. His vehemence prevailed on the members so overwhelmingly, that Grimstone said, thirty years afterwards, "if he had pleased, the House would have sent us to the Tower, me and my officers, as calumniators."² But on the next day Cromwell wisely went to the Army and there boldly became the leader of the Army measures.

The Army now began a gradual approach to London. The Parliament, in terror, called out the militia and made every preparation for defence. Fairfax ordered a rendezvous at Royston, on June 10th, where twenty-one thousand men assembled—the finest army that England had ever known. Fairfax and Cromwell rode to each regiment and inquired whether they would obey the Parliament, and to the last man they shouted, No!

After the rendezvous, on the same day, a letter was written

Reasons; Gardiner's *Great Civil War*, vol. iii., p. 87; Guizot, 328; *Clarke Papers*, p. 124.

¹ Rushworth, vol. vii., p. 737.

² Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, London, 1766, 4 vols., vol. i., p. 61.

by Cromwell and signed by all the leading officers, warning the City of London not to arm against them. As this letter contains a candid statement of the policy of the Army in its dispute with the Parliament, and reveals so fairly and frankly the motives of Cromwell and his brother officers in the military coercion which they had now set on foot, we have copied it in full as containing a valuable illumination of the controversy :

“To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London : These.

“ROYSTON, 10th June, 1647.

“RIGHT HONOURABLE AND WORTHY FRIENDS :

“Having, by our letters and other Addresses presented by our General to the Honourable House of Commons, endeavoured to give satisfaction of the clearness of our just Demands ; and having also, in Papers published by us, remonstrated the grounds of our proceedings in prosecution thereof ;—all of which being published in print, we are confident they have come to your hands, and received at least a charitable construction from you.

“The sum of all these our Desires as Soldiers, is no other than this : Satisfaction to our undoubted Claims as Soldiers ; and reparation upon those who have, to the utmost, improved all opportunities and advantages, by false suggestions, misrepresentation and otherwise, for the destruction of this Army with a perpetual blot of ignominy upon it. Which [injury] we should not value, if it singly concerned our own particular persons ; being ready to deny ourselves in this, as we have done in other cases, for the Kingdom's good ; but under this pretence, we find, no less is involved than the overthrow of the privileges both of Parliament and People ;—and rather than they [*i. e.*, The Presbyterian leaders in Parliament, Hollis, Stapleton, Harley, Waller, etc.] shall fail in their designs, or we receive what in the eyes of all good men is our just right, the Kingdom is endeavoured to be engaged in a new War. [In a new War,] and this singly by those who, when the truth of these things shall be made to appear, will be found to be the authors of those [said] evils that are feared ;—and who have no other way to protect themselves from question and punishment but by putting the Kingdom into blood, under the pretence of their honour of and their love of the Parliament. As if that were dearer to them than to us ; or as if they had given greater proof of their faithfulness to it than we.

“But we perceive that, under these veils and pretences, they seek to interest in their design the City of London :—as if that City ought to make good their mis-carriages, and should prefer a few self-seeking men before the welfare of the Public. And indeed we have found these men so active to accomplish their designs, and to have such apt instruments for their turn in that City, that we have cause to suspect they may engage many therein upon mistakes,—which are easily swallowed, in times of such prejudice against them that have given (we may speak it without vanity) the most public testimony of their good affections to the Public, and to that City in particular.

"[As] for the thing we insist upon as Englishmen,—and surely our being Soldiers hath not stript us of that interest, although our malicious enemies would have it so,—we desire a Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom and of the Liberties of the subjects, according to the Votes and Declarations of Parliament, which, before we took arms, were, by the Parliament, used as arguments and inducements to invite us and divers of our dear friends out, some of whom have lost their lives in this War. Which being now, by God's blessing finished,—we think we have as much right to demand, and desire to see, a happy settlement, as we have to our money and [to] the other common interest of Soldiers which we have insisted upon. We find also the ingenious and honest People, in almost all parts of the Kingdom where we come, full of the sense of ruin and misery if the Army should be disbanded before the Peace of the Kingdom, and those other things before mentioned, have a full and perfect Settlement.

"We have said before, and profess it now, We desire no alteration of the Civil Government. As little do we desire to interrupt or in the least to intermeddle with, the settling of the Presbyterial Government. Nor did we seek to open a way for licentious liberty, under pretence of obtaining ease for tender consciences. We profess, as ever in these things, when once the State has made a Settlement, we have nothing to say but to submit or suffer. Only we could wish that every good citizen, and every man who walks peaceably in a blameless conversation, and is beneficial to the Commonwealth, might have liberty and encouragement; this being according to the true policy of all States, and even to justice itself.

"These in brief are our Desires, and things for which we stand; beyond which we shall not go. And for the obtaining of these things, we are drawing near your City;—professing sincerely from our hearts, [That] we intend not evil toward you; declaring, with all confidence and assurance, That if you appear not against us in these our just desires, to assist that wicked Party which will embroil us and the Kingdom, neither we nor our Soldiers shall give you the least offence. We come not to do any act to prejudice the being of Parliaments, or to the hurt of this Parliament in order to the present Settlement of the Kingdom. We seek the good of all. And we shall wait here, or remove to a farther distance to abide there, if once we be assured that a speedy settlement of things is in hand,—until it is accomplished. Which done, we shall be most ready, either all of us, or so many of the Army as the Parliament shall think fit,—to disband, or to go for Ireland.

"And although you may suppose that a rich City may seem an enticing bait to poor hungry Soldiers to venture far to gain the wealth thereof, yet, if not provoked by you, we do profess, Rather than any such evil should fall out, the soldiers shall make their way through our blood to effect it. And we can say this for most of them, for your better assurance, that they so little value their pay, in comparison of higher concerns to a Public Good, that rather than they will be unrighted in the matter of their honesty and integrity (which hath suffered by the men they aim at and desire justice upon), or want the settlement of the Kingdom's Peace, and their own and their fellow-subject's Liberties,—they will lose all. Which may be a strong assurance to you that it's not your wealth they seek, but the things tending in common to your and their welfare. That they may attain these, you

shall do like Fellow-Subjects and Brethren if you solicit the Parliament for them, on their behalf.

"If after all this, you, or a considerable part of you, be seduced to take up arms in opposition to, or hindrance of, these our just undertakings,—we hope we have, by this brotherly premonition, to the sincerity of which we call God to witness, freed ourselves from all that ruin which may befall that great and populous City; having thereby washed our hands thereof. We rest, your affectionate friends to serve you,

"THOMAS FAIRFAX,	HENRY IRETON,
"OLIVER CROMWELL,	ROBERT LILBURN,
"ROBERT HAMMOND,	JOHN DESBOROUGH,
"THOMAS HAMMOND,	THOMAS RAINSBOROUGH,
"HARDRESS WALLER,	JOHN LAMBERT,
"NATHANIEL RICH,	THOMAS HARRISON,
"THOMAS PRIDE." ¹	

They then advanced to St. Albans. On June 14th, laying aside their grievances, they addressed to the Parliament, under the title of An Humble Representation, an expression of their views as to public affairs, the conclusion of this Parliament, the elections, the right of petition, and the general reform of the State. To these demands was joined an accusation of treason against eleven of the most prominent of the Presbyterian members, Hollis, Waller, Stapleton, Lewis, Clotworthy, Maynard, Glyn, Long, Harley, Nichols, and Massey. The Commons objected that the specifications were vague and general. The Army answered reproachfully that the first accusation against Strafford was also vague and entirely general; "as you did then," they said, "we will do now, furnish our proofs afterwards." The accused members, after much indignant protesting, relieved the embarrassment of the situation by offering to retire beyond seas for six months with the consent of Parliament.²

But the Army drew nearer to the capital, and on June 26th its headquarters were at Uxbridge. Commissioners hastened thither, but with no effect, and the Parliament acceded to all the demands of the Army, voting at once a month's pay, agreeing to provide for its support, to appoint commissioners in

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 237.

² Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 570.

conjunction with those of the Army for settling the affairs of the kingdom, and to refrain from bringing the King again into their own custody by drawing him to Richmond, as they declared they would do. With these concessions granted to them, the Army drew back a few miles, and (June 30th) appointed ten commissioners to treat with the Parliament, of whom Cromwell was the first named.¹

The King was much depressed at the failure of the plans for his immediate return to London. And now a great desire filled his heart to meet once more with his children. He spoke to Fairfax on this subject, who wrote at once to the Parliament urging that the favour be granted. "Who, if he imagine it to be his own case," he inquired, "cannot but be sorry if His Majesty's natural affection to his children, in so small a thing, should not be complied with."² Since the surrender of Oxford his younger children, the Duke of York, the Princess Elizabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester, had resided either at St. James's Palace or at Sion House, near London, under the care of the Earl of Northumberland to whom the Parliament had committed them. This affecting interview took place at Maidenhead (July 15th), and it excited the liveliest emotions among the people, who flocked to the town in large numbers and strewed the path of the Monarch and his little ones with flowers and evergreens. Nor were the officers of the Army less tenderly touched by this pathetic scene, for they permitted the King to take his children to Caversham, where he then resided, and keep them with him for two days.

Cromwell's own fatherly heart was deeply stirred by this incident. In speaking of it soon afterwards to Sir John Berkeley, he said that he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the King and his children. He wept plentifully at the remembrance thereof,

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 596. The other Army commissioners were Cromwell's fast friends, viz., Ireton, Fleetwood, Rainsborough, Harrison, Sir Hardess Waller, Rich, Hammond, Lambert, and Desborough, two of them married to his daughters, and one to his sister.

² *Ibid.*, p. 610.

saying that never man was so abused as he in his sinister opinion of the King, who, he thought, was the most upright and conscientious of his kingdom. He declared that they of the Independent party had infinite obligations to him for not consenting to the propositions sent to him at Newcastle, which would have totally ruined them, and which His Majesty's interest seemed to invite him to. And then he confirmed all with this solemn wish, that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart towards the King.¹ In short, the lovable qualities in Charles's character had completely won the regard of Cromwell, who, in the contemplation of his personal gentleness and worth, seemed to lose sight of the King's incurable political duplicity. But at this very instant, Charles was writing official commands to Ormond to cease his negotiations with the Irish Catholics, and with the same pen was privately instructing him to continue them. Cromwell, unaware of this, said to Berkeley that the officers were all convinced that if the King did not resume possession of his just rights, no man in England could enjoy in security his life and property; and a decisive step on their parts would soon leave no doubts on His Majesty's mind of their true sentiments.

When Berkeley hastened to the King with this surprising assurance from Cromwell, he was amazed at the cold reception which Charles gave it. Ireton, observant and suspicious, boldly said to the King, "Sir, you have an intention to be arbitrator between the Parliament and us, and we mean to be so between you and the Parliament."² The King, still thinking he must naturally reap the advantage by promoting the strife, believed that neither party could succeed without his affiliation. Ireton consented to draw up very liberal propositions, in which the Episcopal Church was left intact; the King was required to give up the command of the militia for ten years, and the nomination to the great offices of state; seven of his councillors

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 199.

² *Ibid.*, p. 198.

were to remain banished from the kingdom ; all civil and coercive power should be withdrawn from the Presbyterian clergy ; no Peer created since the outbreak of the war should sit in the House of Lords, and no Cavalier should be admitted into the next Parliament. Nothing so moderate had yet been offered to the King, but he objected to them. Ireton insisted that there must be a difference between conquerors and those whom they had beaten, and naturally declined to consider the King's counter-proposition for a Parliament in which the Royalists would have the ascendancy.

Cromwell became impatient at the King's slowness to accept the Army's terms, and Berkeley, who represented Charles, expostulated with his royal master, and reminded him that men who had come through so many dangers and difficulties were entitled to their advantages, and he would mistrust their sincerity if they offered less ; and that a crown that was so near lost was never recovered so easily as this would be, if the proposals were accepted.

But Charles was fatally blinded to his own interests. He had lately been privately assured by some of the Presbyterians at London that they would oppose the Army to the last extremity, and when the officers waited on him for his reply he spoke to them with a sharp and bitter tongue, indiscreetly repeating his regret that he had consented to Strafford's death or to the abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland. "You cannot be without me," he said with rising voice ; "You will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." Berkeley whispered angrily in his ear, "Sir, you speak as if you had some secret strength and power which I do not know of ; and since you have concealed it from me, I wish you had done it from these men also."¹

The failure to arrive at a satisfactory peace not only incensed the Army, but it threw London again into turbulent emotions. Mobs of excited men surrounded the Parliament building, and even invaded the two Houses, forcing the Commons' Speaker back into the chair which he had endeavoured to vacate and compelling him to put their own question, Whether the King

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 205.

should return with honour and safety to London. Ludlow alone had courage to speak a loud "No!" Massey, Waller, Poyntz, and other officers of the old Army, took measures to enlist men; and then Fairfax and Cromwell advanced again on London. They came as far as Hounslow Heath where a rendezvous was held, the King in the meantime going to Hampton Court under Whalley's escort. Many members of the Parliament fled to the Army for safety. Had Charles for one moment been gifted with moderate political wisdom, he could now have yielded a little to the Army and made himself master of the kingdom. But out of all this tumult the deep disgust which the soldiers had imbibed against the King's tergiversation led to the formation of a sentiment of revenge which had hitherto been absent. They began to cry for justice on offenders. They called themselves The Levellers, and, as a means of levelling all distinctions in those guilty of crimes against the state, they named Charles as the Chief Delinquent. At first it was a whisper, and then it grew into a loud and fierce demand for his blood.

On the 8th of August the Army entered London, and made a magnificent, but quiet and solemn, march through the city. Fairfax was in the van, surrounded by many notable members of his staff. Skippon was in the centre, while Cromwell, the real hero, rode at the rear. The object of this military demonstration was simultaneously to overawe and reassure the city and the Parliament. There was no disorder, nor plunder, nor licentiousness, but the dignity, the sobriety, the stern resolution, which appeared on the faces of 21,000 Puritan veterans, convinced all beholders that here was a force which could not be safely defied. But it was ominous of future woe. It marked the triumph of the Army over the civil power, and the ascendancy of the Independents over the Presbyterians.

The King was at his old palace of Hampton Court, in full intercourse with his former friends, and with some of his "evil councillors" attending him¹; vainly imagining that these fast-crowding events portended his own restoration to power.

¹ The Lords Richmond, Hertford, Capel, and Southampton were with him.

Cromwell and Ireton were with him much, urging him to a peace while there was yet time. So zealous was Cromwell at this period to restore the King, that he incurred the violent jealousy of the Army by the assiduity of his attentions to Charles. His wife, and his daughter, Bridget Ireton, were graciously received by the King. It was said by Berkeley, who was in the King's full confidence, that Cromwell had secured a promise of the office of Commander-in-chief, the colonelcy of the King's Guards, and the Order of the Garter; and that he was to receive the title of Earl of Essex, which, through his ancient relationship with that house, would have gratified him exceedingly.¹ Ireton was to receive the Government of Ireland. There was danger in all this for Cromwell. "If you despise as hitherto, my warnings," wrote Freeborn John Lilburne, "be sure I will use against you all the power and influence I have, and so as to produce in your fortune changes that shall little please you." The Lieutenant-General became more cautious and begged the King's friends, Ashburnham and Berkeley to visit him no more, but "if I am an honest man," he said, "I have done enough to convince His Majesty of the sincerity of my intentions; if not, nothing will suffice."² Ireton sent word to the King that they were determined to purge the House, and purge it again, and purge it still, until it should be disposed to arrange amicably His Majesty's affairs.³

The Scottish commissioners once more besought the King to adopt the Covenant and to throw his power with the Presbyterians, assuring him that their party alone was sincere in its desire to save him. The military party redoubled its efforts to hold the King fast. Charles, however, would not treat either side with sincerity. Cromwell's good opinion of him began to wane. There was talk of a Scottish Army and a rising of English Cavaliers. The Levellers were goaded to fury and they now publicly demanded the death of the Chief Delinquent.

¹ Berkeley's *Memoirs*, p. 40; Guizot, p. 350; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, vol. iii., p. 207.

² Huntingdon, p. 155.

³ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 124.

The precise circumstance which finally set Cromwell against the King cannot now be discovered. The old story tells, that Cromwell and Ireton learned that Charles had despatched a letter to his Queen, which was sewed up in a saddle; that they disguised themselves as private soldiers, overtook the King's messenger at the Blue Boar tavern, quaffed a tankard of old ale with him, and then, after ripping open the saddle with their swords, read the letter, in which Charles told Henrietta Maria that he was coquetting with both parties, but favoured the Scots, and that the Army leaders expected much of him, but that instead of a garter he would give the rogues a halter.¹ That Charles would be capable of writing such a letter there can be no doubt; that he did write it has not been clearly proved. But his vacillations between the Scots and the Parliament, and between the Parliament and the Army at length convinced Cromwell that he could not be trusted. And, after withdrawing his trust from him, Cromwell made a magnanimous effort to save his life, and counselled him to seek his safety in flight.

Charles was dumbfounded, but he now saw that his ruin was complete. Assassination was already designed for him. His custodian, Whalley, a cousin of Cromwell's, had received a letter from Oliver, written for the King's eye,² calling on him to have a care of his guards. The letter is brief and terrible:

"DEAR COS. WHALLEY:

"There are rumors abroad of some intended attempt on His Majesty's person. Therefore I pray have a care of your guards. If any such thing should be done, it would be accounted a most horrid act. Yours,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."³

The King was thrown into a great agitation and left Hampton Court on the night of the 11th of November, with Ashburnham and Berkeley, a hunted fugitive, going he knew not whither, and at length arrived at the Isle of Wight where his

¹ The Earl of Orrery relates that Cromwell himself told him this story. Gardiner's *Great Civil War*, vol. iii., p. 259. While the tradition has taken many forms, that given above seems to be at once the most picturesque and the most credible.

² Whalley's account, *Cromwelliana*, p. 36.

³ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 252.

presence was indiscreetly discovered to Colonel Robert Hammond, the Parliamentary governor, and he was confined a prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle. His escape from Hampton Court was not seriously investigated. It was very clear that it had been connived at by Cromwell, Ireton, and Whalley, and it afforded relief to those who dreaded his murder to learn that he had fled.

On November 15th, during a rendezvous of the Army at Ware, the discontent of the soldiers broke out into open mutiny. Cromwell rode to the head of each regiment, and addressed them in a manner so vehement that he subdued the wrath of most of them and won the cheers with which his presence was always greeted. But there were two regiments which would not be pacified. They had expelled all their officers above the rank of lieutenant with the exception of one Captain Bray who now commanded them. Every soldier wore in his hat an incendiary paper, and as Cromwell rode toward them he was greeted by defiant and seditious shouts.

"Take that paper from your hats!" he cried, but they refused to obey him. Spurring his horse into the midst of them, his face being inflamed with passion, he pointed out fourteen of the ringleaders and placed them under arrest. Then dragging them to the front, he assembled a court-martial on the spot and condemned three of them to death, one of whom was instantly shot. The mutiny was quelled, and there was never again any lack of obedience among his soldiers. The Speaker of the House of Commons publicly thanked Cromwell for his bravery in suppressing this refractory outburst.¹

It was near this time that Cromwell wrote a letter to the Parliament contributing one thousand pounds annually to the public Treasury out of the estates of the Marquis of Worcester which had been bestowed upon him, and releasing the

¹ Rushworth, vol. vii., pp. 875, 880. Fairfax reports this affair as one in which he took the chief part, but his letter was probably written by Cromwell, who was always willing to give the honour to Fairfax, and who really is the author of many of Fairfax's reports. See his letter to Hammond, 3d January, 1647, acknowledging one of them to be his.

Parliament from the payment of £1500 back pay that was now due for his services as Lieutenant-General.¹

Charles, amidst the gloom of his confinement in the Isle of Wight, had received exaggerated accounts of the mutiny at Ware, and his love of intrigue prompted him to immediately despatch Sir John Berkeley to the Army headquarters to remind the generals of their duty to him. But Berkeley met with a harsh reception. Ireton threatened to send him under arrest to the Parliament. Cromwell would not see him, but sent him word, "I will do my best to serve the King, but he must not expect I shall ruin myself for his sake." The same messenger whispered the fearful warning, "If the King can escape, let him do it, as he loves his life!"²

At the opening of the year 1648, the Presbyterian majority in the House of Commons had prepared grounds for a safe peace in the form of four bills, which were sent to the King at Carisbrooke Castle. These bills provided: 1, that the command of all military and naval forces should rest with the Parliament for twenty years; 2, that the King should revoke all his proclamations against the legality of the past proceedings of the Parliament; 3, that he should annul all the patents of peerage which had been issued since he left London; 4, that the Parliament should be empowered to adjourn for whatever time, and to whatever place it might think proper. Charles, although almost in his last extremity, had no intention of approving these bills, which would have made the Puritan revolt a legitimate resistance to his authority. Besides, the Scottish Parliament, now controlled by the Duke of Hamilton, had likewise sent commissioners to treat for peace, and they were offering Charles better terms than he could hope to obtain from his English subjects. The King dallied with the English while he secretly concluded a treaty with the Scots. This paper was completed in two days and hidden in a garden until it could be taken away safely. It provided for a Scottish Army to re-establish him in his just rights, on condition that he would

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 262.

² Berkeley's *Memoirs*, p. 73.

confirm the Presbyterian establishment in England for three years, himself and his friends not being compelled to conform to it, and that at the end of that time the Assembly of Divines should, in conjunction with the King and the Parliament, settle the religious constitution of the kingdom. The Cavaliers were to rise in England, and the Marquis of Ormond was to return to Ireland and conduct a war there. The King was to reject the four propositions of the English Parliament, then fly to Scotland, and wait for the outbreak of another war. In compliance with this treaty Charles rejected the English proposals.

There was deep wrath in the House of Commons when the failure of the four bills was reported. They could easily surmise the dangerous negotiations with the Scots which had been carried on under the very eyes of their commissioners at Carisbrooke Castle. On January 3d they voted that they would make no more addresses to the King, nor receive any from him, and that death should be the portion of any member who would correspond with him.¹

The King had resolved to make his escape from the Isle of Wight, but Colonel Hammond, suspecting his design, dismissed all the royal attendants and shut the King up in the castle. A stormy interview ensued. Charles was filled with vexation and uneasiness, and after demanding in vain to know by whose orders Hammond had so abused him, and being denied even a chaplain, the King said, "You use me neither like a gentleman nor a Christian." Hammond answered that he would speak with him when he was in a better temper. "I have slept well to-night," said Charles. "Why do you not use me civilly?" "Sir, you are too high," answered Hammond. "My shoe-maker's fault, then," was the King's angry retort, and Hammond left the room with tears in his eyes, but firm in his purpose to secure the King.²

Cromwell undertook to pacify the factious spirit existing

¹ Rushworth, vol. vii., p. 953.

² *Ibid.*, p. 960. Whitelock. George Hillier in *A Narrative of the Attempted Escapes of Charles I. from Carisbrooke Castle*, London, 1852, gives an entertaining account of the King's adventures at this time.

between the Parliament and the Army, and a meeting of all the leaders was held at his house in King Street for a restoration of mutual confidence and esteem. Passages from the Scriptures were read, and words of exhortation were spoken, but no agreement was reached, and the meeting broke up with an exhibition of buffoonery, in which Cromwell sometimes innocently indulged for the relief of his feelings. He seized a cushion and flung it at Ludlow's head, and then frivolously started to run down the stairs ; but Ludlow threw another after him which struck him on the shoulders and "made him hasten down faster than he desired."¹

The tramp of a great Army could now be heard on the borders of Scotland, and the Cavaliers were rising in all parts of England. Cromwell and the leaders of the English Army assembled themselves together in prayer-meeting. They called upon the name of Jehovah with all the stern piety of former days. They resolved, not any dissenting, to go forth and destroy their enemies with an humble confidence in the name of the Lord only. "And we were also enabled then," says one who was present, "after serious seeking His face, to come to a very clear and joint resolution, on many grounds at large there debated amongst us, that it was our duty, if ever the Lord brought us back in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed and mischief he had done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people in these poor nations."²

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 240.

² Adjutant-General Allen, in Carlyle, vol. i., p. 274 ; and Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, vol iii., p. 366.





CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SECOND CIVIL WAR.

Domestic Events in Cromwell's Life—Letters—His Dangerous Sickness—Uprisings of the Cavaliers—Cromwell Marches on Pembroke Castle—The Scots Invade England—They are now for the King—Character of the Duke of Hamilton—Cromwell Defeats the Scots at Preston—And Pursues them for Thirty Miles—Takes Ten Thousand Prisoners—He Ends the War—And Invades Scotland—Presbyterians Dismayed at his Ascendency—And they Treat with Charles—Cromwell Comes Hastily to London—The Parliament Aims to Restore the King—The Army Moves on London—Pride's Purge Places Cromwell in Control of Parliament—He Orders the King Brought to Windsor Castle for Trial.

THE domestic events in this period of Cromwell's life necessarily occurred under the storm-cloud of civil strife.

His eldest son, Richard, was now twenty-two years old, and he had never evinced any ambition to win fame in the big wars. He was an idle youth, whose thoughts turned to matrimony, and Cromwell's respect for the sacredness of marriage led him, with the deepest solicitude, to counsel his son in the choice of a wife.

Colonel Richard Norton, Member of Parliament for Hants, and a fellow-soldier of Cromwell's in the days of the Eastern Association, was a family friend who could advise young Richard in this tender affair. To him Oliver wrote a letter, showing both a worldly and a spiritual comprehension of his son's settlement. The "Mr. M." is Richard Mayor, who had a lovely daughter. Had Oliver at this time cherished the bold schemes for dominion which his enemies impute to him, he would never have sought this obscure alliance with the daugh-

ter of a country gentleman, but would have accepted the "very great proposition" which he here discards:

"For My Noble Friend, COLONEL RICHARD NORTON: These.

"LONDON, 25th February, 1648.

"DEAR NORTON:

"I have sent my son over to thee, being willing to answer Providence; and although I had an offer of a very great proposition from a father, of his daughter, yet truly I rather incline to this in my thoughts, because, though the other be very far greater, yet I see difficulties, and not that assurance of godliness—though indeed of fairness. I confess that which is told me concerning the estate of Mr. M. is more than I can look for as things now stand.

"If God please to bring it about, the consideration of piety in the parents, and such hopes of the gentlewoman in that respect, make the business to me a great mercy; concerning which I desire to wait upon God.

"I am confident of thy love; and desire things may be carried with privacy. The Lord do His will—that's best—to which submitting, I rest, your humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." ¹

Soon after writing this letter Cromwell was stricken with what he apprehended to be a fatal illness. But his rugged constitution enabled him to recover from the attack, which produced this fervent acknowledgment of his faith:

"For His Excellency, SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, General of the Parliament's Armies, at Windsor: These.

"LONDON, 7th March, 1648.

"SIR:

"It hath pleased God to raise me out of a dangerous sickness; and I do most willingly acknowledge that the Lord hath, in this visitation, exercised the bowels of a Father towards me. I received in myself the sentence of death, that I might learn to trust in Him that raiseth from the dead, and have no confidence in the flesh. It's a blessed thing to die daily. For what is there in this world to be accounted of! The best men, according to the flesh, and things, are lighter than vanity. I find this only good, To love the Lord and His poor despised people, to do for them, and to be ready to suffer with them:—and he that is found worthy of this hath obtained great favour from the Lord; and he that is established in this shall (being confirmed to Christ and the rest of the Body) participate in the glory of a Resurrection which will answer all.

"Sir, I must thankfully confess your favour in your last Letter. I see I am not forgotten; and truly, to be kept in your remembrance is very great satisfaction to me; for I can say in the simplicity of my heart, I put a high and true value upon

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 259.

your love,—which, when I forget, I shall cease to be a grateful and an honest man.

“I most humbly beg my service may be presented to your Lady, to whom I wish all happiness, and establishment in the truth. Sir, my prayers are for you, as becomes your Excellency’s most humble servant,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”¹

He is soon well enough to take up Richard’s marriage again; and he alludes to some startling war rumors.

“For my noble Friend COLONEL RICHARD NORTON: These.

“FARNHAM, 28th March, 1648.

“DEAR DICK:

“It had been a favour indeed to have met you here at Farnham. But I hear you are a man of great business; therefore I say no more:—if it be a favour to the House of Commons to enjoy you, what is it to me! But, in good earnest, when will you and your brother Russel [*i. e.*, a brother member] be a little honest, and attend your charge there? Surely some expect it; especially the good fellows who chose you!

“I have met with Mr. Mayor; we spent two or three hours together last night. I perceive the gentleman is very wise and honest; and indeed much to be valued. Some things of common fame did a little stick: I gladly heard his doubts, and gave such answers as was next at hand,—I believe, to some satisfaction. Nevertheless, I exceedingly liked the gentleman’s plainness and free dealing with me. I know God has been above all ill reports, and will in His own time vindicate me; I have no cause to complain. I see nothing but that this particular business between him and me may go on. The Lord’s will be done.

“For news out of the North there is little: only the malignant Party is prevailing in the Parliament of Scotland. They are earnest for a war; the Ministers oppose as yet. Mr. Marshall is returned, who says so. And so do many of our Letters. Their Great Committee of Danger have two Malignants for one right. It’s said they have voted an army of 40,000 in Parliament; so say some of Yesterday’s Letters. But I account my news ill bestowed, because upon an idle person.

“I shall take speedy course in the business concerning my Tenants; for which, thanks. My service to your lady. I am really your affectionate servant,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”²

This marriage turned out to be an affair requiring much negotiation. Mr. Mayor had many stipulations to make on behalf of his daughter, nor was Cromwell behindhand in remembering Richard’s welfare. The lands that are referred to in the following letter had but recently been bestowed upon

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 261.

² *Ibid.*, 262.

him by the Parliament, as his share of the spoils of war.¹ "My two little wenches" are Mary and Frances Cromwell, the former aged twelve, the latter ten. Mary was afterwards married to Lord Fauconberg, and Frances, who was gossiped about as a possible bride for Charles II., became the wife of Robert Rich, grandson of the Earl of Warwick, and, afterwards, of Sir John Russell.

"For my noble Friend, COLONEL RICHARD NORTON: These.

"LONDON, 3d April, 1648.

"DEAR NORTON:

"I could not in my last give you a perfect account of what passed between me and Mr. Mayor; because we were to have a conclusion of our speed that morning after I wrote my Letter to you. Which we had; and having had a full view of one another's minds, we parted with this: That both would consider with our relations, and according to satisfactions given there, acquaint one another with our minds.

"I cannot tell better how to do, in order to give or receive satisfaction, than by you; who, as I remember, in your last, said, That, if things did stick between us, you would use your endeavour towards a close.

"The things insisted upon were these, as I take it: Mr. Mayor desired 400 *l.* per annum of Inheritance, lying in Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, to be presently settled [*i. e.*, on the young couple], and to be for maintenance; wherein I desired to be advised by my Wife. I offered the land in Hampshire for present maintenance; which I dare say, with copses and ordinary fells, will be, communibus annis, 500 *l.* per annum: and besides this, 500 *l.* per annum in Tenants' hands holding but for one life; and about 300 *l.* per annum, some for two lives, some for three lives. But as to this, if the latter offer be not liked of, I shall be willing a farther conference be held in regard to the first.

"In point of jointure I shall give satisfaction. And as to the settlement of lands given me by the Parliament, satisfaction to be given in like manner, according as we discoursed. And in what else was demanded of me, I am willing, so far as I remember any demand was, to give satisfaction. Only, I having been informed by Mr. Robinson that Mr. Mayor did, upon a former match, offer to settle the Manor wherein he lived, and to give 2,000 *l.* in money, I did insist upon that; and do desire it may not be with difficulty. The money I shall need for my two little Wenches; and thereby I shall free my Son from being charged with them. Mr. Mayor parts with nothing at present but that money; except the board [of the young Pair], which I should not be unwilling to give them, to enjoy the comfort of their society; which it's reason he smart for, if he will rob me altogether of them.

¹ *Great Civil War*, vol. iii., p. 320. But he was not avaricious, and it is shown by the same authority that he had just abandoned amounts due him by the Parliament equal to five years' pay.

"Truly the land to be settled,—both what the Parliament gives me, and my own,—is very little less than 3,000 *l.* per annum, all things considered, if I be rightly informed. And a Lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, having searched all the Marquis of Worcester's writings, which were taken at Ragland, and sent for by the Parliament, and this Gentleman appointed by the Committee to search the said writings,—assures me there is no scruple concerning the title. And it so fell out that this gentleman who searched was my own lawyer, a very godly, able man, and my dear friend ; which I reckon no small mercy. He is also possessed of the writings for me.

"I thought fit to give you this account ; desiring you to make such use of it as God shall direct you : and I doubt not but you will do the part of a friend between two friends. I account myself one ; and I have heard you say Mr. Mayor was entirely so to you. What the good pleasure of God is, I shall wait ; there alone is rest. Present my service to your Lady, to Mr. Mayor, &c. I rest, your affectionate servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

"P.S.—I desire you to carry this business with all privacy. I beseech you to do so, as you love me. Let me entreat you not to lose a day herein, that I may know Mr. Mayor's mind ; for I think I may be at leisure for a week to attend this business, to give and take satisfaction ; from which perhaps I may be shut up afterwards by employment. I know thou art an idle fellow : but prithee neglect me not now ; delay may be very inconvenient to me : I much rely upon you. Let me hear from you in two or three days. I confess the principal consideration as to me, is the absolute settlement (by Mr. Mayor) of the Manor where he lives ; which he would not do but conditionally, in case they have a son, and but 3,000 *l.* in case they have no son. But as to this, I hope farther reason may work him to more."¹

But Cromwell could stay no longer to press his son's courtship. The marriage of Richard must wait for a year, while Oliver once more leads his devoted Ironsides to battle.

The Second Civil War, in 1648, was the result of an outburst of popular discontent against the Parliament and the Army, as the First Civil War, in 1642, had been the result of popular discontent against the King. In Wales, Colonel Poyer and his troops, being angered at the failure of the Parliament to pay their arrears, seized Pembroke Castle, an almost impregnable fortress, and held it for the King. In the north of England, Colonel Morris had seized Pontefract Castle, stronger even than Pembroke, having entered it with a party of Cavaliers,

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 265.

disguised as laborers, and had hoisted the royal ensign. Then tumult, riot, and insurrection followed each other in every part of England. The troops no sooner dispersed one turbulent multitude, but they were called in haste to disperse another in an opposite quarter.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Colonels Glenham and Musgrave were enlisting large numbers of men in the north for the King's service, and had already occupied Berwick and Carlisle. In Essex, in Hertfordshire, in Nottinghamshire, in Rutland, Northampton, Lincoln, and Sussex, the old Cavalier leaders were calling their friends to arms. The Royalists in Kent chose General Goring (now Earl of Norwich) to lead them, and he took possession of Sandwich, Dover, and other strongholds with his usual alacrity. Some of the ships in the navy mutinied, and, sending their officers ashore, sailed for Holland, where the Duke of York, who had lately escaped the Parliament's custody, and soon after, the Prince of Wales himself, took command of them. Even in London the revolt was almost equally open. The apprentices captured two of the city gates, and came to much grief at the hands of the troops. The young Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Holland, and other noblemen, left London with a large body of followers in the King's interest, but they were overtaken by the Parliamentary forces, and routed, a brother of the Duke being killed, and the Earl of Holland shortly losing his head for high treason.

In Scotland an army was ready to march. In Ireland the Lord Inchiquin, Lord Lieutenant of the Province of Munster, a trusted Parliamentary governor, had come over to the King's side.

Fairfax pursued Goring, who shut himself up in Colchester and bade defiance to the Parliament. Wales seemed hopelessly lost, and Cromwell marched thither with five regiments, to regain Pembroke Castle and crush the Cavaliers. Lambert was despatched to the north to keep watch on Langdale.

In the midst of this unhappy strife all men feared to see a decisive victory fall to either party. But the Presbyterian party

was now plainly inclining towards the King. On April 28th the Commons voted that the Government of the kingdom should still be by King, Lords, and Commons, and the former vote of non-addresses was rescinded.¹ The proscription of the eleven members was annulled, and they were invited to resume their seats (June 8th).² A new treaty was proposed with the King, who was to be invited to come to London, but this met with violent opposition. "If you treat with this enraged King in London," said Thomas Scott, an Independent member, "who can secure the Parliament that the City will not make their peace with him by delivering up your heads to him for a sacrifice, as the men of Samaria did the heads of the seventy sons of Ahab?" Colonel Harvey said, if the King promised to reside in one of his houses not nearer London than ten miles, what security would his word be that he would remain there till the treaty was concluded? "The King's promise hath been broken over and over again: put not your trust in princes." Sir Simonds D'Ewes, always for a moderate course, combated these views. He said:

"I am quite of a contrary opinion. The House not only ought, but must trust the King. Mr. Speaker, if you know not in what condition you are, give me leave, in a word, to tell you it. Your silver is clipped, your gold shipped, your ships are revolted, yourselves contemned, your Scots friends enraged against you, and the affection of the City and Kingdom quite alienated from you. Judge, then, whether you are not in a low condition, and also if it be not high time to endeavour a speedy settlement and reconciliation with His Majesty."³

These were the conflicting views which were tearing at the vitals of the Parliament.

The Scottish Army invaded England July 8th. Their number was near twenty thousand, and the Duke of Hamilton was their commander. Lambert began an orderly retreat before them. Cromwell was still before Pembroke, and Fairfax before Colchester, and the march of the Scots was not seriously impeded.

¹ Rushworth, vol. vii., p. 1074.

² *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii., p. 907.

³ Guizot's *English Revolution*, p. 386. Walker's *History of the Independents*.

Colonel Poyer was giving Cromwell much trouble in his stubborn defence of Pembroke. One of the soldiers wrote of him: "The man is certainly in two dispositions every day, in the morning sober and penitent, but in the afternoon drunk and full of plots." On one occasion he sent out five of his men in the dark and received them back in daylight with a salute of guns, endeavouring to convey the impression that they were an embassy sent to him from France. When a wayfaring gentleman fell into his hands, he demanded whether he was Independent or Presbyterian. "Neither," he replied, "for I am a Protestant." "Why, so am I," answered Poyer, "therefore let us be merry." And the chronicle relates that they went in and drank so hard that neither was able to stir for twenty-four hours.¹

Cromwell wrote to Speaker Lenthall on the 14th of June that he would take the castle in fourteen days; but in spite of all his efforts Poyer held out for nearly a month. Finally, he was starved out, and surrendered his command on quarter for his men, himself to be at the mercy of the Parliament.² On July 11th, Cromwell reported the capture of Pembroke Castle, explaining to the Parliament that certain prisoners were excepted from pardon "because they have sinned against so much light, and against so many evidences of Divine Providence going along with and prospering a just cause, in the management of which they themselves had a share."³

Cromwell then turned to the north, and joined his forces with Lambert early in August, England in the meantime holding its breath to watch the result of the inevitable meeting between him and Hamilton.

The Duke of Hamilton was a man who, though endowed with rare gifts, never succeeded in anything he undertook to perform. Intriguing and ambitious, yet brave and generous; vain in his estimate of his own powers as a statesman and a general, yet utterly inefficient as either; a kinsman and trusted friend of the King, yet always suspected of cherishing

¹ Rushworth, vol. vii., p. 1033.

² *Ibid.*, 1190.

³ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 285.

designs on the Crown ; contradictory in all the elements of his character ; he is one of the most enigmatical men of that period. When a young man he was remarked at the gay Court of Charles for the melancholy cast of his countenance, and he seems ever to have been distrustful and unhappy.¹ He once led an army of six thousand Scots to aid the heroic Gustavus Adolphus, but failed to make any impression in those stirring wars. In the first days of the Covenant in Scotland, he had been Charles's High Commissioner, but did little to assuage the bitterness of that controversy. When the attempt to enforce Episcopacy led to the Bishops' wars, he raised an army of five thousand men for the King, but never performed any action except to unload them from their ships on an island in the Frith, whence they dwindled away and disappeared.

When the Covenanters invaded England in 1644, just previous to the fatal battle of Marston Moor, it was urged by Montrose and other courtiers that he had participated in the call to arms, and Charles was forced by their suspicion to imprison him in Cornwall ; but he obtained his liberty, and, appearing once more in Scotland, had secured a majority in Parliament which enabled him to raise this army for the restoration of the King. While Argyle and the clergy opposed him, he carried all against their influence.² But he encountered many disappointments. The Court of France had promised him arms and ammunition, but none were sent. The Prince of Wales was expected to come over to take the command, but he remained in Holland. When Hamilton set his foot on English soil, the chivalrous Langdale could not join him intimately, because the English Cavaliers would not take the Covenant, and the Scots would therefore have no fellowship with them. Langdale's command was treated as a separate body. The main Army was practically split in two, Sir George Monro, with the Scottish horse being always a day's march in the rear, and not at hand when the battle was joined, while Hamilton and his lieutenant-general, Calender, were fiercely

¹ Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*.

² Isaac Disraeli's *Charles the First*, vol. iv., p. 268.

jealous of each other, and had divided the Army into factions. The Scottish Parliament had authorised the enlistment of forty thousand men, but the premature outbreak of the insurrections in England had compelled Hamilton to take the field with less than half that number.

The only considerable battle of this second war was that which was fought at Preston, on the northern border of Lancashire, on August 7, 1648. Cromwell had marched over the river Ribble the night before, and camped in a field about nine miles from Preston. At daybreak he marched to Preston and the fight was commenced on a ground so rough and muddy from the recent tempestuous weather that the operations of his cavalry were conducted with great difficulty and toil. His centre line advanced through a deep and narrow lane, and the two wings, commanded by his colonels, moved forward on either side of this hedge-lined road. Cromwell's force consisted of between eight and nine thousand, and the Scots and the English Royalists he computed at twenty-one thousand. As his advance guard came in sight of Langdale's cavalry, the Puritans in the lane paused and desired to wait for the reserves to come up. But Cromwell thundered the order to charge, and the well disciplined Roundheads sprang forward with the songs of David on their tongues, their leader in the front of the fight. Hamilton supposed this army to be the forces of Colonel Ashton, a singular lack of intelligence; and Sir Marmaduke never knew until he was beaten that he was once more face-to-face with Oliver and his Ironsides.¹ The whole line of battle was now in action, and the field was fiercely contested. But the Scots were undisciplined and for the most part poorly officered. They could not long hold together under the unwavering advances of the Parliamentarians. They did indeed fight to push of pike and thrust of sword. Hamilton, and Calender, and Langdale, and Baillie, and Turner spurned all danger and kept their men in spirit as long as daring courage could do it. For three hours Royalty and the Parliament were locked together in a death struggle. Then the Scots

¹ He had before faced Oliver at Naseby.

were halted, pushed back, made one or two gallant charges, retreated again, and finally broke and fled.

Cromwell's men were so jaded and distressed by the fatigue of their long march from Wales, and the country was so obstructed by the impediments of the weather, that the pursuit was irksome and slow.

"If I had a thousand horse that could trot but thirty miles," wrote Cromwell, "I should not doubt but to give a very good account of them : but truly we are so harassed and haggled-out in this business, that we are not able to do more than walk at an easy pace after them." But the rout of the Scottish Army was kept up for three days. When the invaders arrived at Wigan on the second day, they made a stand and fought until a thousand of them were slain. Night came on and the moon broke through the clouds while the carnage continued. In the fury of their despair the Scots had forced the Roundheads to retreat, but reinforcements coming up, a shout that Cromwell was there spread an instant panic. General Turner tried to rally his men, when two of them in an extremity of terror assaulted him and ran a pike through his thigh. Enraged at his wound he ordered his cavalry to attack his infantry, thus enhancing the horrors of that scene. The retreat was resumed, the fight lasting all through the night, Cromwell keeping close on the heels of the fugitives until they reached Warrington, where a third battle was fought. Here the Scots had the protection of "a town, a river, and a bridge," but the next day the whole infantry under Baillie and Turner surrendered.

For more than thirty miles Cromwell had chased them. The fruits of this victory were several thousand killed, nearly ten thousand prisoners, the capture of the Scottish artillery, baggage, guns, and ammunition, and the annihilation of Hamilton's military power. Hamilton fled south to Uttoxeter, in Staffordshire, and surrendered with the remainder of his forces there on August 25th. Being an English Peer, Earl of Cambridge, he was beheaded the next year for this invasion, as an act of high treason against the Parliament.¹

¹ I have drawn my description of Preston battle from the accounts written by

In his letter to the Speaker of Parliament describing this battle Cromwell's change of mind concerning the fate of the King, is for the first time dimly suggested. He says:

"Surely, Sir, this is nothing but the hand of God; and wherever anything in this world is exalted, or exalts itself, God will pull it down; for this is the day wherein He alone will be exalted. It is not for me to give advice, nor to say a word what use you should make of this, more than to pray you, and all that acknowledge God, that they would exalt Him, and not hate His people, who are as the apple of His eye, and for whom even Kings shall be reprov'd; and that you would take courage to do the work of the Lord, in fulfilling the end of your magistracy, in seeking the peace and welfare of this land, that all that will live peaceably may have countenance from you, and that they that are incapable and will not leave troubling the land may speedily be destroyed out of the land. And if you take courage in this, God will bless you, and good men will stand by you, and God will have glory, and the land will have happiness by you in despite of all your enemies."¹

Cromwell had crushed the second war. Eleven days after the beginning of the fight at Preston (August 28th), Goring surrendered Colchester to Fairfax without terms, and was sent prisoner to the Tower. Two of the most gallant Cavaliers in England, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, were shot on the place, on a fierce suggestion from Ireton. Lord Capel was beheaded at London. Having been the first man to complain of grievances at the opening of the Long Parliament, he was an object of especial dislike. Sir Marmaduke Langdale was captured, but afterwards escaped. The Prince of Wales, who had arrived in the Downs with the revolted ships, made haste back to Holland. The lagging Monro, who had never seen the battle, beat a hasty retreat beyond the Tweed with his cavalry. When the royal captive in Carisbrooke Castle learned of Hamilton's defeat, he observed that "it was the worst news that ever came to England." In Scotland the Presbyterian zealots arose in what was called "the Whiggamore raid," and the party appellation of Whig was thenceforth applied to those who

Cromwell, Turner, Langdale, and Hodgson; also from Carlyle, vol. i., p. 292. Prof. Gardiner's third volume of the *Great Civil War*, since published, confirms this narration (p. 420).

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 303.

evinced a disposition to oppose the Court, and to treat Protestant Nonconformists with indulgence.¹ The old Earl of Leven and David Leslie, backed by Argyle and the Kirk party, regained their control of the military power.

But Cromwell was not yet satisfied with his performance. He marched north and recaptured Berwick and Carlisle without a struggle. Then (about September 20th) he entered the kingdom of Scotland and marched to Edinburgh, where he was received by all the well-affected notables with some trepidation and much respect. He impelled the Scottish Parliament to disqualify all persons who had taken part in the late invasion, from employment in any public place or trust whatever, thus causing the unseating of many of its members. When he had done this, and had impressed the fear of his strength upon the intriguing Scots, he was banqueted with elaborate honour at Edinburgh Castle; and then, leaving Lambert with two regiments behind, he departed, arriving back in England in the middle of October. Proceeding to Yorkshire, he sat down before Pontefract Castle (November 9th). The governor of this stronghold had recently driven in all the cattle of the surrounding country to the number of two hundred and forty, and was prepared to stand a siege for a year. He could expect no mercy, so that he stubbornly refused to surrender. The place was well watered and situated upon a rock, so that to resort to mining was impossible. The walls were very thick and high, with strong towers. The outside country was so poor that the subsistence of the Parliamentarians was a grave difficulty. But the reduction of this castle was the last necessity of the war, and Cromwell set himself to accomplish it.

But at Westminster Cromwell's Presbyterian rivals beheld with undisguised dismay the indications of his continued ascendancy. His triumph presaged their ruin, and they had

¹ Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. i., p. 192. Carlyle, vol. i., p. 307. A little later the name of Tory was bestowed on those ultra champions of a direct succession who refused to exclude James II. from the throne on account of his religion.

taken advantage of his absence with the Independent Army to reopen an ever-hopeless treaty with the King. Forty days had been devoted to the solemn discussion of this treaty by the Parliamentary commissioners and the King and his friends, at the Isle of Wight. Denzil Hollis, Oliver's most bitter foe, who had been banished with the eleven to appease the jealousies of the Army, was now back in his seat in the House of Commons. Robert Huntington, a major in Cromwell's own regiment, had presented a vindictive memorial to the House of Lords, denouncing the Lieutenant-General for his intrigues, his broken promises, his perfidy to the King, his ambition, his contempt of Parliament and of the law, his disregard of the rights of men, his pernicious principles, and his threatening designs. The Peers received this charge with private satisfaction, and sent their messengers with the malignant document to the House of Commons, but Cromwell's friends shrewdly prevented its introduction before the lower House, although Huntington placed a copy of it in the Speaker's hands.¹ Cromwell by this time stood too high to be successfully attacked.

The Independents in Parliament were greatly alarmed by the evident approach of an agreement between the King and the Presbyterian section; and Ludlow was sent by them to interview Fairfax at Colchester in regard to a policy for the preservation of the Army. Ludlow stated the question to be, Whether the King should govern as a god by his will, and the nation be governed by force like beasts; or, whether the people should be governed by laws made by themselves, and live under a Government derived from their own consent? Fairfax refused to commit himself to any direct engagement, contenting himself with a general expression of his intention to discharge his duty to the people. Ludlow thereupon sought Ireton, whom Cromwell had left with the Lord General for his own purposes. That astute soldier was not in the least alarmed by the disclosures of the Presbyterian designs which were made to him. "Let them go on," he said, "until the King and the

¹ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii., p. 965. Whitelock, p. 327. Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 253.

Parliament make an agreement. We will wait until we have made a full discovery of their intentions, and then oppose them."¹

An answer was at length obtained from the King. He refused to abolish the Bishops, but consented that those who had bought the Church lands from the Parliament should enjoy them by lease for a term of years. As a satisfaction for the blood that had been shed, he agreed to except six considerable persons from pardon, taking care to name those who had found a safe asylum beyond seas. The Parliament was to control the Army for ten years.² These concessions were not those which would naturally be expected from a conquered monarch, but in the absence of better terms, the Presbyterians resolved to stem the tide of anarchy by accepting them as a basis for peace. The Army leaders preserved an ominous silence before the public, but they had long since arrived at a grim determination to prevent the consummation of this treaty at the proper time.

But the duplicity of Charles was never exercised with less conscience than in the days of this treaty. He had combated the commissioners with skill and learning at every point in the discussion. "If you call this a treaty," he said to one of them, "consider whether it be not like the fray in the comedy where the man comes out and says, 'There has been a fray and no fray'; and being asked how that could be, 'why,' says he, 'there hath been three blows given, and I had them all.' Look whether this be not a parallel case: I have granted absolutely most of your propositions, and with great moderation limited only some few of them; and you make me no concessions."³ After having promised to stop all hostilities in Ireland, he secretly wrote to Ormond: "Obey my wife's orders, not mine, until I shall let you know I am free from all restraint; nor trouble yourself about my concessions as to Ireland: they will not lead to anything."⁴ In regard to the concessions of the Army, he wrote to Sir William Hopkins: "To

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 263.

² *Ibid.*, 268.

³ Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 359.

⁴ Carte's *Life of Ormond*.

tell you the truth, my great concession this morning was made only with a view to facilitate my approaching escape; without that hope, I never should have yielded in this manner.”¹ In short, Charles believed implicitly in his moral right to hoodwink those whom he viewed simply as rebels against his lawful authority; and the most solemn engagements which they deemed necessary to secure their own safety and the prosperity of the people at large, had no binding force upon his conscience. This, once more, was the kingcraft of his father.

Of this period, Sir Philip Warwick writes: “There are no words in the Army, but that the King hath been a man of blood, and therefore must be prosecuted to blood.”² Edmund Ludlow quoted this Scripture for the act that was coming to pass: “Blood defileth the land, and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it.”³ And Cromwell, from the leaguer at Pontefract, wrote this letter to Fairfax, enclosing numerous petitions from his soldiers that justice be done to the Chief Delinquent:

“KNOTTINGLY, 20th Nov., 1648.

“MY LORD:

“I find in the Officers of the Regiments a very great sense of the sufferings of this poor Kingdom; and in them all a very great zeal to have impartial justice done upon Offenders. And I must confess, I do in all, from my heart, concur with them; and I verily think and am persuaded they are things which God puts into our hearts.

“I shall not need to offer anything to your Excellency: I know, God teaches you; and that He hath manifested His presence so to you as that you will give glory to Him in the eyes of all the world, I held it my duty, having received these Petitions and Letters, and being [so] desired by the framers thereof,—to present them to you. The good Lord work His will upon your heart, enabling you to it; and the presence of Almighty God go along with you. Thus prays, my Lord, your most humble and faithful servant,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”⁴

He likewise wrote a long and very remarkable letter to Hammond, the Governor of the Isle of Wight, endeavouring

¹ Wagstaff's *Vindication of the Royal Martyr*, London, 1711, p. 140.

² Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 345.

³ Numbers, xxxv., 33: Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 267.

⁴ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 344.

to persuade him that the intentions of the Army in this matter were just and lawful in the sight of God.¹

Five times had the Parliament voted the King's concessions insufficient (October 2d, 11th, and 27th; November 2d, and 24th). They were trusting to Hammond to preserve the King from the machinations of the Army. But on the 27th of November Fairfax recalled Hammond to Windsor, where his own headquarters were now established, and Colonel Ewer, a Leveler, took charge of the King at the Isle of Wight. The royal prisoner was removed to Hurst Castle, a small, dark, and gloomy stronghold on the main land across the narrow channel known as the Solent. His friends were dismissed, and he was left alone with the terror of assassination at the hands of his fanatical guards constantly before him.

The Presbyterian majority at Westminster now rejected a Remonstrance from the Army, and the Army moved nearer to London. Cromwell had returned from the north, leaving Pontefract Castle to Lambert, and was with them.

On Friday, the 1st of December, on Saturday, and again on Monday, the Commons debated the question, Whether His Majesty's concessions are a ground of settlement? All of Monday night they continue the debate, and so many have spoken that the Independents know they will be beaten when the vote comes. Nathaniel Fiennes, an Independent and a soldier, is speaking now for the King. They will not be overawed by the advancing tread of the Army. At five o'clock in the morning it is voted that the King's concessions are sufficient. One hundred and twenty-nine vote yea, eighty-three vote nay, a majority of forty-six. Cromwell and the Army spend all of that day in praying and planning.

The next day, by an order from Commissary General Ireton, Colonel Rich's regiment of horse and Colonel Pride's regiment of foot came to Westminster as a guard to the Parliament, and dismissed the City train-bands from that service. Fairfax knew

¹ Carlyle, vol. i., p. 346. His open conversion to the punishment of the King drew forth Sir Philip Warwick's scoff that he was the Inspired Seraphic Independent. Warwick, p. 328.

nothing of their errand ; Cromwell and Ireton had arranged all. As the members began to arrive, Lord Grey of Groby, standing beside Colonel Pride, whispered the names of the Presbyterians who approached. Among them were Sir Simonds D'Ewes, William Prynne, Sir William Waller "the Conqueror," Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, William Strode, and Nathaniel Fiennes.¹ Pride promptly seized them until forty-seven were in his custody, and hurried them off to the Queen's Court. Each and every one of them demanded, "By what law? By what law?" And when Chaplain Hugh Peters visited them, and they repeated this solemn question, he replied, with stern satisfaction, "It is by the law of Necessity, truly, by the power of the Sword!"

This was Pride's Purge.

The next day, Thursday, Cromwell quietly took his seat in the House, and received a vote of thanks from the Speaker for his services in the war.² He had not, he said, been acquainted with this design ; yet, since it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it.³ In addition to the forty-seven imprisoned members ninety-six others were personally denied entrance to the House by Colonel Pride, so that only seventy-eight members were present to discuss Cromwell's course under this vote, and twenty-eight of them opposed him, and came no more to Parliament. This left a "Rump" at that time of fifty members. A few days later it was necessary, in order to obtain a quorum, to bring one of the imprisoned members out of his incarceration to the House.⁴ The city was now full of troops.⁵ The Independents controlled both the civil power and the sword.

On Wednesday, December 13th, the purged House renewed the vote for non-addresses ; declared the recent revocation of

¹ The list is given entire in Rushworth, vol. vii., p. 1355, and in the *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii., p. 1248.

² Rushworth, vol. vii., p. 1355.

³ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 235.

⁴ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii., p. 1286.

⁵ Rushworth, vol. vii., pp. 1356, 1358.

this vote to have been highly dishonourable ; and annulled the vote for a treaty with the King.¹

Four of the Lords and about twenty of the Commons, together with many other Independents, attended at St. Margaret's Church at Wesminster. Chaplain Hugh Peters occupied the pulpit and took his text from the Book of Psalms :

" Let the saints be joyful in glory ; let them sing aloud in their beds. Let the high praises of God be in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hand ; to execute vengeance upon the heathen, and punishment upon the people ; to bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron. This honour have all his saints." ²

In his discourse Peters compared the state of the kingdom with the bringing of the Children of Israel out of Egyptian bondage. He declared that there were five thousand men in the Army who were no less saints than those who conversed with God himself in heaven. He then dropped his head suddenly upon the cushion, and, raising it after a while, he shouted that he had had a vision, and that the way to be brought out of their bondage was to extirpate monarchy, both here and in all other places. Then, with the flow of tears which seemed to be one of the arts of exhortation in that age, he begged them to execute justice upon that great Barabbas at Windsor.³

On the 14th Cromwell went to Windsor. On the 16th a detachment of horse led by Colonel Harrison was sent from headquarters with orders to bring the King from Hurst Castle to Windsor. Harrison was the son of a butcher, but withal was a man of military capacity who had won Cromwell's esteem and patronage. After the party of soldiers had brought the King some distance from Hurst Castle, Charles, who believed it to be a part of their design to assassinate him at the first fitting opportunity, spoke frankly to Harrison of the rumour he

¹ Rushworth, vol. vii., p. 1362. *Parliamentary History*, iii., p. 1249.

² Psalm cxlix., 5-9.

³ Echard's *History of England*. *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii., p. 1252. Bates, *Troubles in England*, London, 1685, p. 143.

had heard that he himself had declared he would do the deed. "Nothing can be more false," said Harrison; "this is what I said, and I can repeat it: it is, that the law was equally obligatory to great and small, and that justice had no respect to persons." The last words were spoken with an emphasis which stirred the King to great alarm, and he did not again address Harrison.

On leaving Farnham, the King expressed his desire to stop and dine in the forest, at the house of Lord Newburgh, who was one of his most devoted adherents. Harrison tried to dissuade him, but the King uttered his wish so persistently, that the Roundhead chief consented. Newburgh was the owner of a fine stable, among which was a horse reputed to be the fleetest in England. It had secretly been planned that Charles should mount this horse and speed away into the forest, whose by-paths were well known to him, where he could easily find a shelter from his guards on their slow-service horses. He accordingly, before arriving at Lord Newburgh's, began to complain loudly of a lameness in the horse he was then riding, and when this was later mentioned to his Cavalier confidant, Newburgh instantly offered him a fresh horse. Ill-fate, however, frustrated his enterprise, when the fleet steed was found to have been badly injured by a kick from another horse. The King would have attempted flight on his present mount, but Harrison, whose suspicions had been aroused, surrounded him with bold troopers on every side, and escape was impossible.¹ That evening he arrived at Windsor Castle, where he was received by many of his old friends and servants, who were permitted to attend him with the ceremonies which were due to his exalted rank.

¹ Clarendon, vol. iii., p. 248. Rushworth, vol. vii., p. 1375. Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 273.





CHAPTER XIX.

THE CHIEF DELINQUENT.

Cromwell's Part in the King's Trial Explained—Charles his own Worst Enemy—The Commons Prepare a Charge against him—A High Commission Court Erected—Illegal Nature of the Ordinance Attainting the King—The Lords Reject it—The Commons Declare themselves a Legal Parliament without the Lords—The Trial at Westminster—The King Denies the Authority of the Court—Foreign Intercession in his Behalf—He Secretly Resolves to Abdicate—Cromwell Defeats his Purpose—The Sentence Pronounced—Dramatic Colloquy with Bradshaw—Parting Interview with his Children—Cromwell Signs the Death Warrant—The King's Last Speech—He Declares the People Have no Right to Share in the Government—His Execution—Cromwell Views his Body—Reflections on the Political Results of his Death.

CROMWELL'S part in the King's trial and death is the least creditable portion of his history. And yet he had sincerely endeavoured to save the life of Charles. When the King was a prisoner at Hampton Court, Cromwell had purposely frightened him away with that letter about assassination. When Charles fatuously strayed into captivity at Carisbrooke Castle, Cromwell again warned him, through Sir John Berkeley, to escape if he loved his life. When, after he had discovered the King's duplicity, he was importuned by the friends of Charles to engage himself in his behalf, he had replied that he would do what he could, but the King must not expect him to ruin himself for his sake. But when, after two civil wars the demand of the Army for the punishment of the Chief Delinquent became irresistible, Cromwell abandoned his scruples, and he and Ireton became the foremost among those who brought the King to the block. He declared that

this second war was "a more prodigious treason than any that had been perfected before; because the former quarrel was that Englishmen might rule over one another; this to vassalise us to a foreign nation."¹

On the day following the King's enforced return to Windsor Castle (Saturday, December 23, 1648), the Commons appointed a committee of thirty-eight to draw up a charge against him in order that he might be brought to judgment.² Petitions were coming in from every quarter of England, under the manipulations of the Agitators, praying for the trial of the Chief Delinquent, and all the arts which could be used to excite the public mind to approbation of their design were skilfully employed. On the 27th, the Council of War, which had taken charge of the King's person, ordered that no ceremonies of State should longer be performed with respect to him.³ On the 28th an ordinance was reported for attainting the King of high treason, prescribing that he should be tried by a tribunal to be erected for that purpose and to be known as the High Commission Court. There was a storm of horrified protest from many members, some of whom did not think until then that

¹ Carlyle, letter lxxxii. Professor Gardiner's researches fully support the views I have expressed,—*Great Civil War*, vol. iii., pages 201, 207, 252, 254, 258, 264, 363, 364, 551, 557, 580. Also *Clarke Papers*, pp. 229, 232, etc. "Ireton was the person that drove it on," says Bishop Burnet, "for Cromwell was all the while in some suspense about it. Ireton had the principles and the temper of a Cassius in him; he stuck at nothing that might have turned England to a Commonwealth. And he found out Cook and Bradshaw, two bold lawyers, as proper instruments for managing it. Fairfax was much distracted in his mind, and changed purposes often every day. The Presbyterians and the body of the City were much against it, and were everywhere fasting and praying for the King's preservation. There was not above 3000 of the army about the town; but these were selected out of the whole army as the most engaged in enthusiasm; and they were kept at prayer in their way almost day and night, except when they were upon duty; so that they were wrought up to a pitch of fury, that struck a terror into all people. On the other hand the King's party was without spirit; and as many of themselves have said to me, they could never believe his death was really intended until it was too late. They thought all was a pageantry to strike a terror, and to force the King to such concessions as they had a mind to extort from him."—*History of His Own Times*, vol. i., p. 63.

² Rushworth, vol. vii., p. 1372.

³ *Ibid.*, 1376.

the Levellers would dare to go to the last extremity. Cromwell's public expressions were most cautiously framed. We have already seen that on at least two occasions he had in his letters expressed the increasing desire of the soldiers for the King's punishment without himself abhorring it.¹ But now he affected moderation. "If any one," he said, "had moved this upon design, I should think him the greatest traitor in the world; but since Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I pray God to bless our counsels, though I am not prepared on the sudden to give my advice."² But there was no real difficulty in obtaining a majority for the ordinance: Pride's Purge had assured the Independents of the successful termination of their design. It was necessary, however, even for these zealous enthusiasts to preserve the appearance of law, and this could only be done by the expedient of an *ex post facto* law, for there was none on the statute-books at present that would sanction their proceedings. On the 2d of December they had voted that it was high treason for a King of England to make war against his Parliament.³ They then adopted their ordinance for the erection of the High Court of Justice. It was to be composed of one hundred and fifty persons, including six peers, three judges, eleven baronets, ten knights, six aldermen of London, and the prominent Independents in the Army and the city, excepting St. John and Vane, who declared that they disapproved of the scheme and would take no part in it.

On January 2, 1649, the ordinance was sent to the Lords, who, servile until now under the lash of the Commons, indignantly spurned this measure. The illegal pretensions of the ordinance were very clearly exposed by the debate in the upper House. The Earl of Manchester, to whom Cromwell had made that radical outburst in 1644 concerning the levelling of peers and titles, was the first speaker. He said that by the fundamental laws of England, the Parliament consisted of three

¹ See pages 295 and 299.

² Walker's *History of Independence*, London, 1661, vol. ii., p. 54.

³ Rushworth, vol. vii., p. 1380.

estates, of which the King is the first ; that the King only had power to call and dissolve them, and to confirm all their acts, and that without him there can be no Parliament ; and therefore it was absurd to say that the King could be a traitor against the Parliament. The Earl of Northumberland contended that the greatest part, even twenty to one, of the people of England were not yet satisfied whether the King did levy war against the Houses first, or the Houses first against him ; and besides, if the King did levy war first, they had no law extant, or that could be produced, to make it treason in him to do so ; “ and for us, my Lords,” he said, “ to declare it treason by an ordinance, when the matter of fact is not yet proved, nor any law in being to judge it by, seems to me very unreasonable.” The Earl of Pembroke said, briefly, that he loved not to meddle with businesses of life and death, and, for his part, he would neither speak against the ordinance nor consent to it. And the Earl of Denbigh declared that whereas the Commons were pleased to put his name into the ordinance, as one of the commissioners for trying His Majesty, he would choose to be torn in pieces, rather than have any share in so infamous a business. These were Puritan Lords who spoke thus. It was resolved that the ordinance should be cast out, after which the Lords adjourned for one week without vouchsafing to send the lower House a message.¹

The next day the Commons seized their journal, and found that the Lords had refused to concur in the declaration that it was high treason for a King to make war, and that they had unanimously rejected the ordinance for the King's trial. On the 4th they voted that the people being, after God, the original of all just powers, and they themselves being the representatives of the people, they were possessed of the sovereign power, and that whatsoever they should enact, though lacking the concurrence of the King and the Lords, should have the force of law.² On the 7th they passed a fresh ordinance, instituting the High Court of Justice in the name of the Commons only,

¹ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii., p. 1255.

² Rushworth, vol. vii., p. 1383. *Parl. History*, vol. iii., p. 1257.

reducing the membership to 135, and empowering twenty or more to be a quorum. A proclamation was made throughout the city that the King would be tried, and that all who had anything to say against him would be heard.¹

The High Court met in private on the 8th, 10th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 17th, 18th, and 19th of January. John Bradshaw, a cousin of Milton, was chosen President. He was a Puritan of the strictest type, fanatical and ready to die for his opinions, yet ambitious and a lover of gold. Fearing assault, he prudently wore a shot-proof hat.² Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton were the first three names that appeared in the ordinance creating the court. Fairfax sat the first day and never took part in the proceedings again. Other prominent members were Skippon, Harrison, Pride, Whalley, Desborough, Lambert, Ludlow, and Hazelig.³ The court was unwieldy and dissensions crept in at the very start. Many who attended the first meetings did so to announce their opposition to the trial. Young Algernon Sidney opposed the proceedings with fervid eloquence, and expressed the fear that the people would rise up in a sudden insurrection, and by saving the King, lose the projected Commonwealth. "No one will stir," said Cromwell, who, first and last, controlled the court absolutely; "I tell you we will cut his head off with the Crown upon it."⁴ Dissenting members were discouraged from attending, and the court began to arrange the forms of the trial. Steel was chosen Attorney-General, Cook was appointed Solicitor, and Henry Scobill, clerk. It was decided that the trial should take place at Westminster, and the 20th of January was appointed as the day on which the King should appear before the court.

On Friday, the 19th of January, a troop of horse under the command of General Harrison was sent to Windsor for the King. Charles entered a coach drawn by six horses, and was conveyed to London, and thence to St. James's Palace,

¹ Rushworth, vol. vii., p. 1387.

² Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, vol. iii., p. 570.

³ The full list is given in Rushworth, vol. vii., p. 1379.

⁴ Leicester's journal, in Guizot, p. 416.

where he was strictly guarded by the soldiers. But one of his friends, Sir Thomas Herbert, Groom of the Chamber, was allowed access to him.

The next day, the 20th, about noon, while the High Court was discussing the final preparations for the trial, their attention was attracted by the approach of the King, who was carried in a sedan-chair between two files of soldiers. Cromwell, looking from the window, said: "My masters, he is come—he is come: and now we are doing that great work that the whole nation will be full of. Therefore, I desire you to let us resolve here what answer we shall give the King, when he comes before us; for the first question he will ask us will be, by what authority and commission we do try him." Cromwell's astute surmise was correct, for the King's first words questioned their authority to bring him to trial.

The High Court entered Westminster Hall in solemn procession, Bradshaw at their head preceded by the Sword and Mace, and twenty halberdiers. A strong guard surrounded the building. Bradshaw, as President, occupied a chair of crimson velvet, and sixty-seven members of the court took their seats. The King soon appeared under the guard of Colonel Tomlinson and thirty-two halberdiers, and advanced towards a chair of crimson velvet which had been placed for him at the bar. Pausing he cast a long and searching look on the court, and then sat down without removing his hat. Rising suddenly, he looked behind him at the guards and at the great crowd of spectators who had been freely admitted, then gazed once more into the severe faces of his judges, and again sat down amidst a general silence.

The names of the members of the court were read, and when that of Fairfax was called, the assembly was startled to hear a woman in the gallery say, "He had more wit than to be here." Afterwards, when the impeachment was read in the name of all the good people of England, the same voice cried, "No, not the hundredth part of them. Where are they or their consents? Oliver Cromwell is a traitor!" An officer bade his soldiers fire at the woman, who could be but dimly

distinguished, but when they drew nearer to her the astonishing discovery was made that the indignant disturber was the General's wife, Lady Fairfax, who thereupon withdrew.¹

Bradshaw rose and addressed the King.

"Charles Stuart, King of England," said he, "the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, being deeply sensible of the evils and calamities that have been brought upon this nation, and of the innocent blood that has been spilt in it, which is fixed on you as the principal author of it, have resolved to make inquisition for this blood, and to bring you to trial and judgment for it, for which purpose this High Court of Justice has been constituted."

Solicitor Cook then began to read the charges, when the King laid his cane softly on Cook's shoulder two or three times and bade him hold. The handle of his cane came off and fell to the floor, and as his attendants were not near him, he stooped and picked it up himself, and then sat down.

The Solicitor read the charge against him, laying upon Charles the responsibility for all the evils arising from his tyrannical government and from the war, and demanding judgment on him as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and an enemy to his country. The King smiled at these words, but said nothing.

"Sir," said Bradshaw to the King, "you have heard the charge; the court awaits your answer."

Charles rose and looked calmly into the eyes of his questioner, and demanded to know by what lawful authority he was brought there. Bradshaw replied, In the name of the Commons of England. Charles replied that he saw no Lords there which should make a Parliament, including the King, and urged that the kingdom of England was hereditary, not successive, and that he should betray his trust if he acknowledged or answered to them, for he was not convinced that they were a lawful authority. But lately, he said, he was treating with the commissioners of Parliament in the Isle of Wight for a

¹ This incident is mentioned by Clarendon, Whitelock, and Rushworth, and in the evidence given in the *Trials of the Regicides*.

peace, and the treaty was near perfection. "I desire to know," he continued, "by what authority I was hurried thence hither; I mean lawful authority, for there are many unlawful powers, such as that of highwaymen. I desire to know this, I say, before I answer your charge."

Bradshaw pressed him to plead to the charge, and the King continued to demand their authority. Looking round upon the members of the House of Commons, he asked, with scorn, "Is this what you call bringing the King to his Parliament?"

Bradshaw replied: "Sir, the court awaits from you a definitive answer. If what we tell you of our authority is not sufficient for you, it is sufficient for us; we know it is founded on the authority of God and of the kingdom." As Charles still refused to plead he was ordered to be taken away, and his guards conveyed him to the house of Sir Robert Cotton, which was near at hand, and where his residence was fixed during the trial. After his departure some of the judges desired to pass sentence at once, but in order to avoid the reproach of a hasty and rash judgment it was decided to require his appearance at two other sittings and to press him to answer to the accusation.

On Monday, January 22d, he was brought a second time before them, sixty-two of the judges being present, where much the same ground was covered. Bradshaw demanded an answer, and the King argued against their authority with much learning and dignity. As often as his reasoning brought him to this point he was interrupted by Bradshaw, who refused to permit him to discuss the question. The King claimed his right as an Englishman to raise a demurrer to their proceedings; but Bradshaw said his demurrer was overruled, and spoke of precedents, when the King quickly said, "Show me one precedent." Bradshaw was unable to answer his challenge, and, falling back upon his dignity, rebuked him for interrupting the court. The King said, "I require that I may give my reasons why I do not answer"; and Bradshaw replied, "Sir, it is not for prisoners to require." "Prisoners!" thundered the King; "Sir, I am not an ordinary prisoner." A few more hot

words were exchanged, the King demanding to speak for the liberty of his people, when he was again taken away. As he passed down the stairs the soldiers repeated their cry of "Justice, justice!" but the populace cried, "God save the King! God save Your Majesty!"

The next day he appeared a third time, and Bradshaw sternly commanded him to answer, and forbade his discoursings. The King said: "For the charge, I value it not a rush; it is the liberty of the people of England I stand for. For me to acknowledge a new court, that I never heard of before,—I, that am your King, that should be an example to all the people of England,—to uphold justice, to maintain the old laws,—indeed, I do not know how to do it." Still refusing to plead, he was hurried away by his guards. As he passed out, one of the soldiers cried, "Sire, God bless you!" An officer struck the man with his cane. "Sir," said the King, "the punishment exceeds the offence." He disappeared amid the same exclamations of sympathy and of reproach which had followed him on the preceding days.

Indeed, the King's bearing in his perilous situation was so majestic, and his conduct was marked by so much patience and forbearance, that the people were turning to him in multitudes. Outside of the Army there were few Englishmen who could view with complacence the end that was felt to be approaching so swiftly. Besides, their tardy sympathy was accelerated by the energetic efforts which one half the world seemed to be making in his behalf. The States-General of Holland, under the filial persuasion of the Prince of Wales, had sent an ambassador to intercede with the Parliament and with Cromwell for his life. A commission came from Scotland to recall to the Lord-General's mind that provision in the Covenant which bound them all to preserve His Majesty's person; but Cromwell told them his crimes were beyond pardon.¹ Another came from France on a like errand of mercy. Henrietta Maria, who, with the royal family of France, was under restraint in

¹ Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, vol. i., p. 56.

the siege of Paris during an insurrection there, found opportunity to send a letter to the English Parliament, making a passionate lamentation for the sad condition of her husband, and desiring that they would grant her a pass to come over to him. She offered to exercise all her influence with him to give them satisfaction : but, if they would not consent to this, then she implored that she might at least be near him to perform the duty she owed him in his last extremity. John Cromwell, a cousin to Oliver, and now employed in the Dutch service, besought the Lieutenant-General with entreaties, reproaches, almost with threats, to interpose his power in behalf of Charles. All was without avail. Cromwell and the High Court of Justice were inexorable.

On the 24th and 25th they examined thirty-two witnesses who testified to seeing the King present when his standard was set up at Nottingham ; that he was on the field at Edgehill and Newbury, and before Gloucester during the siege ; that he dismounted from his horse at Cropredy Bridge and led his troops with sword in hand, putting Waller's army to flight ; and that he was in the front of his army at Naseby. This was the sum of the evidence against him. On the 25th, towards the close of the day, Ireton and five others were appointed to draw up the sentence. There were forty-six members present that day. On the 26th, with sixty-two members, the court passed on the form of the sentence.

On the 27th the court met, with sixty-seven present, to pass their sentence. Charles entered the hall, pale, inwardly agitated, but every inch a king. Before taking his seat, he said to Bradshaw : " Sir, I shall ask to speak a word ; I hope I shall not give you occasion to interrupt me."

BRADSHAW : " You may answer in your turn. Hear the court first."

THE KING : " If it please you, Sir, I desire to be heard, and I shall not give any occasion of interruption, and 't is only in a word. A sudden judgment——"

BRADSHAW (interrupting) : " Sir, you shall be heard in due time, but you are to hear the court first."

THE KING: "Sir, I desire it, it will be in order to what I believe the court will say; and therefore, Sir,—a hasty judgment is not so soon recalled."

BRADSHAW: "Sir, you shall be heard before the judgment be given; and in the meantime you may forbear."

The King sat down, and Bradshaw addressed the court, censuring the King for his contumacy in impeaching the jurisdiction of the court. He then gave the King permission to speak in his own defence, but warned him that he must not again question their authority.

It had never penetrated the soul of Charles that they would dare to put him to death otherwise than by assassination until he was brought before them on this occasion for judicial sentence. He had spoken a short time before of holding in reserve three resources, the least of which would enable him to save his life. The first two of these were probably a fanciful power to treat with either the Parliamentary or the Army party in a last extremity. The final alternative was his abdication of the Crown in favor of his son. This was what he now resolved to perform. Before the law he would be considered legally dead as soon as sentence was passed upon him. Hence his impassioned appeal to be allowed to speak as soon as he had come before them.

He arose and began to speak amid a profound silence. He said, that since he had been forbidden to further discuss the lack of authority of those who had brought him to trial, which he himself considered the most material question in the proceedings, he would make no further allusion to it. He had not entertained a tenacious hold upon his life, else he would have chosen to conduct his defence in a different manner. He had prized the peace of the kingdom and the liberty of his subjects more highly than the life of their King, all of which were involved in this affair, otherwise he would have been tempted to at least delay the passing of an ugly sentence which he now believed would be laid upon him. But now he thought that a hasty sentence once passed may sooner be repented of than recalled. Desiring the peace of the kingdom and the liberty of

his subjects more than his own particular ends, he asked that he might be privileged to meet with the two Houses of Parliament in the Painted Chamber, as he had a communication to make to the Lords and Commons which was of the greatest importance to the nation. If they refused, then these offers of liberty and peace were pure shows.

The King's speech had been followed closely by the court, and by the vast audience, and when he made that mysterious reference to a plan of settlement, his purpose to abdicate was inferred by all, and a wave of excitement swept over the whole assembly. Charles had outwitted the court and had taken them completely by surprise. They had held a secret meeting that morning, and planned a line of conduct for their own guidance in any one of half a dozen things which they conjectured the King might say. But they had never anticipated his request to meet with his Parliament for such an obvious and important communication. Bradshaw attempted to break the force of the speech by denouncing it as a further aspersion on the authority of the High Court of Justice, and a subterfuge to gain time. The King answered that if his message was not found to be worthy of the importance which he had ascribed to it, the shame would be his. Bradshaw resumed his speech, in which he continued to deny the King's request, when the excitement that possessed both court and spectators broke out into a disturbance. The soldiers, urged on by Axtell, their Colonel, cried, "Justice! Execution!" and when Charles, in the deepest agitation, cried, "Hear me! hear me!" the same shouts were repeated. Colonel Downs, who was one of the judges, rose up, while two of his colleagues, Cawley and Wanton, endeavoured to pull him down. "Have we hearts of stone?" he asked. "Are we men?" "You will ruin us and yourself," said Cawley. "No matter," replied Downs, "if I die for it, I must do it." Cromwell turned to him angrily, and said, "Colonel, are you yourself? What mean you? Can't you be quiet?" "No, Sir," answered Downs, "I cannot be quiet." He then formally addressed the President, and told him that he could not give his consent to the sentence, and

desired that the court would retire in order that he might state his reasons. Bradshaw, wishing to preserve the decorum of the court, unwillingly consented, and the judges withdrew for conference. There was a stormy interview in the Court of Wards, whither they had retired, but all opposition was silenced, and at the end of half an hour they returned to the hall and Bradshaw informed the King that the court rejected his proposal. When Charles still insisted on the urgency of his communication, Bradshaw made the unjudicial retort, "Sir, you have not owned us as a court, and you looked upon us as a sort of people met together, and we know what language we received from your party." The King replied, "I know nothing of that." The clerk then read the sentence, which, after reciting the charge against him, provided, "for all which treasons and crimes, this court doth adjudge, that he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public enemy, shall be put to death by the severing of his head from his body."

The sentence having been read, Bradshaw said: "The sentence now read and published, is the act, sentence, judgment, and resolution of the whole court." Each one of the Regicides thereupon stood up in token of consent. The soldiers gathered round the King. "Sir," said Charles, suddenly, "will you hear me a word?"

BRADSHAW: "Sir, you are not to be heard after the sentence."

THE KING: "No, Sir?"

BRADSHAW: "No, Sir, by your favour, Sir. Guard, withdraw your prisoner."

THE KING: "I may speak after sentence by your favour, Sir. I may speak after sentence,—EVER! By your favour,—*(to the guards)* Hold! The sentence, Sir—I say, Sir, I do!—I am not suffered to speak—expect what justice other people will have!"

With these broken words of fallen but courageous majesty, Charles was hurried from the bar. His ejaculation of the word "Ever" was supremely dramatic. As he walked down the

stairs, some of the soldiers blew the smoke from their pipes into his face, and jeered him. Others shouted "Justice! Execution!" Still others on the outskirt cried, "God save Your Majesty! God deliver Your Majesty from the hands of your enemies!" Amid this turbulence he was taken to Whitehall.¹

The next day, Sunday the 28th, Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, came to give the King the consolations of religion. On Monday the Commons sent his young children, the Princess Elizabeth, aged twelve, and the Duke of Gloucester, aged eight, to see him, they being the only members of his family in England. Charles took them upon his knees, and mingled his tears with theirs. He told his daughter to assure her mother that he loved her as much as on their marriage day, and charged his son not to let them make him a King, as long as his elder brothers, Charles and James, were alive. He then fervently kissed them, again and again, and at last ordered them to be taken away. When they reached the door, they flew back to his arms, sobbing aloud, until Charles tore himself from their caresses, and blessed them, and then fell upon his knees, and prayed.

The court drew up a warrant for his execution the next day, which was addressed to Colonels Hacker, Huncks, and Phayr, and which required them to see it executed. This was signed by Bradshaw, Cromwell, and fifty-seven other members of the court. When it came Cromwell's turn to affix his signature, he wrote his name hastily, and then, in a nervous burst of mirth, he smeared the ink on his pen across the face of Henry Marten, who, after signing, did likewise in the face of Oliver.²

On Monday the King was removed to the Palace of St. James, in order that full preparations for his execution might

¹ I have followed Rushworth's report of the King's trial; with references also to Clarendon, Ludlow, Bates, Whitelock, Walker's *Independency*, and the *State Trials*, as they are quoted by Guizot.

² This story was told under oath at the trial of Henry Marten, by Sir Purbeck Temple, a Puritan, who had been named as one of the King's judges, but had refused to act. He states that he came into the room unobserved, and witnessed the scene I have described. Thom's *Death Warrant of Charles I.* contains an interesting history of the warrant.

be made at Whitehall.¹ On Tuesday morning Cromwell met Ireton, Harrison, and Axtell, together with the three colonels who were to have charge of the execution. Cromwell told Huncks to draw up the order to the headsman, but Huncks stoutly refused to do so, whereupon Oliver sat down and penned the fatal instrument himself, Hacker signing it.²

Charles, after having slept soundly through the night, left his bed at four o'clock. Herbert, who had watched in deep agitation beside his master's bed, related a dream in which he had seen Archbishop Laud come in and kiss the King's hand. Charles merely said it was remarkable, and then: "Let me be as trim to-day as may be," said he; "this is my second marriage day; for before night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus." In dressing he put on an extra shirt. "The season is so sharp," he said, "as may make me shake, which some observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation; I fear not death; death is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared." At dawn Bishop Juxon arrived, and read to him the twenty-seventh chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, which recites the last sufferings and death of the Saviour. "My Lord," asked Charles, "did you choose this chapter as being applicable to my present condition?" "May it please Your Majesty," replied the Bishop, "it is the proper lesson for the day, as the calendar indicates." Charles answered, "I bless God it has thus fallen out."³

About ten o'clock in the morning Hacker knocked gently on his door, and told him in a kindly voice that it was time to go to Whitehall, but assured him that he would have some further time to rest there. After saying a few more prayers

¹ Walker says (*History of Independency*, p. 115) that on the Sunday preceding the King's execution the Army leaders presented him a paper, which provided that the Government should be turned into their hands, and offered him his life, and the name of King, if he would sign it; but that he refused. See also Bates's *Troubles in England*, London, 1685, p. 152.

² *State Trials*, Axtell and Hacker's trial. Guizot, p. 431.

³ Herbert's *Memoirs*, London, 1839, p. 184; Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 384.

the King stepped forth on his march to the execution. A detachment of halberdiers preceded him, and a regiment of infantry followed him. Their drums were beating, and their colors flying. Charles walked with a firm tread; his face was serene, his eye was bright. On his right hand was Bishop Juxon; on his left, Colonel Tomlinson, who had charge of his person. Many of his gentlemen walked before him uncovered. A soldier maliciously inquired whether he had not concurred with the late Duke of Buckingham in the death of the King, his father. "Friend," answered Charles, with mild scorn, "if I had no other sin,—I speak it with reverence to God's Majesty, —I assure thee I should never ask him pardon."¹ Arrived at Whitehall the King entered the chamber where he had formerly slept, and partook of the sacrament. He refused to dine, but about twelve o'clock he drank a glass of wine, and ate a piece of bread. While he was on his knees, some of the Puritan preachers came to the door, and desired to be permitted to pray with him. He sent Dr. Juxon to thank them; "but tell them plainly," he said, "that they that have so often and causelessly prayed against me, shall never pray with me in this agony."²

Hacker's knock was again heard at the door. "Now," said the King, rising from his devotions, "let the rogues come; I have heartily forgiven them, and am prepared for all I am to undergo." A double rank of soldiers stood beyond his door, and behind them a great crowd of men and women who offered their prayers and shed their tears without restraint. Charles walked through the banqueting hall and stepped out of a window upon the scaffold. He then made a speech to the people, defending himself against the charges upon which he had been tried. He told them he died a martyr to the people. In one sentence he defined his whole theory of monarchical Government. "A subject and a sovereign," he said, "are clean different things; the liberty and freedom of the people consist in having of the Government those laws by

¹ Warwick, p. 382.

² *Ibid.*, p. 383.

which their lives and their goods may be most their own, but for having a share in the Government is nothing pertaining to them.”¹ He declared himself a Protestant according to the Church of England; and he reproached himself for consenting to Strafford’s death; and, turning to Dr. Juxon, he said, “I have a good cause, and a gracious God on my side.” A soldier struck his foot against the axe, and Charles, fearing he might blunt its edge, said, “Take heed of the axe, pray, take heed of the axe!” Then to Colonel Hacker he said, “Take care that they do not put me to needless pain.” Bishop Juxon said: “Sire, there is but one stage more. This stage is turbulent and troublesome. It is a short one. But you may consider, it will soon carry you a very great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven, and there you shall find to your great joy the prize,—you haste to a crown of glory.” The King replied, “I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be.” He then laid aside his cloak, and taking off his George, handed the decoration to the Bishop with the secret word “Remember.” As his eyes fell upon the block he smiled to perceive that they had arranged a contrivance to fasten him down in case he should offer resistance. He said to the executioner, a man disguised and wearing a black mask, “Place it so it may be firm.” “It is firm, Sir,” answered the headsman. “I will say a short prayer,” said Charles, “and when I hold out my hands, then——”

He stood in silent devotion for a moment, then raised his eyes to heaven. Kneeling, he laid his head upon the block. The executioner stooped to put his hair under the white satin nightcap which he wore. “Wait for the signal,” said Charles, thinking he was going to strike. “I shall wait for it, Sir,” answered the man. In a moment the King held out his hands, and the judgment of the Regicides was consummated by a single blow from the axe. “This is the head of a traitor,” cried the executioner holding it aloft; and the soldiers shouted

¹ Rushworth, vol. vii., p. 1429. Rushworth stood on the scaffold near the King.

their approbation of the deed. A deep groan arose from the multitude, and many pressed forward to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood. The body was put in a coffin, which was covered with black velvet, and carried through the fallen snow to his apartment in Whitehall.¹ Cromwell came that night, and, uncovering the King's body and gazing long upon it, muttered the words, "Cruel necessity." Noting its apparent vigour and strength, he remarked that it was sound and well made for longevity. A soldier profanely asked him what Government they should have, and he replied hastily, the same that then was.²

Viewed as an act of public policy, the execution of Charles I. was the greatest political blunder of the age. The people regarded it as needless cruelty and oppression upon a monarch who was already dethroned and a captive. It aroused for Charles all those popular sympathies which the misfortunes of a good man invariably excite. Even a hostile poet sang these words :

" He nothing common did or mean,
Upon that memorable scene,
But with his keener eye,
The axe's edge did try ;
Nor called the gods, with vulgar spite,
To vindicate his helpless right ;
But bowed his comely head
Down, as upon a bed."

He was universally known to be, in his private life, as pure a King as ever wore a crown. His passionate attachment for his wife and his deep love for his children, were the uppermost affections in his heart. The violence by which his end had been accomplished, and the heroic manner of his death, had effaced the memory of his encroachments upon the liberties of the people. Aside from those fanatics in the Army who had, under their plan to introduce a republic, brought him to the

¹ Rushworth's account, vol. vii., p. 1428.

² Noble, vol. i., p. 118 ; Heath's *Flagellum*, p. 70 ; Bowtel's account, Forster, p. 478 ; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, vol. iii., p. 604.

scaffold as the Chief Delinquent, the whole nation looked upon his execution with emotions varying from mild regret to absolute horror. But beyond all this was the fact which had been established for more than a thousand years in the English Constitution, that the King's son inherited the Crown. Charles I., beholding him in the Puritan point of view, was a man who had misgoverned and oppressed his people, and then made war upon them. Stained with these malversations, his death would appease the wrath of his enemies, while at the very instant of his dissolution, the whole nation, longing to be at rest from civil war, must inevitably turn its eyes and its heart to his legal and natural successor in the Government ; a prince having all the attractions of youth, esteemed as capable of being guided by a fruitful experience, and who was now become, by the law of the land, CHARLES THE SECOND. They might interrupt the operation of the law for a time by violence and force ; others might usurp the functions of the Crown ; but from the day of the death of Charles I. the desire for a lawful succession steadily increased, until eleven years later it secured the restoration of Charles II. But blessings come in disguise ; and the candid reader will not lose sight of the fact that out of all the bloodshed and turbulence, past, present, and to come, the SOVEREIGN POWER OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE was evolved and confirmed. When the unhappy Charles perished so pitiably upon the block, there perished with him that ancient theory of the Royal Prerogative which had led him to tell his people, with his last breath, that " having a share in the Government is nothing pertaining to them."





CHAPTER XX.

THE COMMONWEALTH—THE RUMP—IRELAND.

House of Lords and Kingship Abolished—Act of Oblivion—Cromwell President of the Council of State—The *Eikon Basilike*—Its Authorship Discussed—Milton's Reply—Richard Cromwell's Marriage—Cromwell Crushes the Levellers—Leads the Army to Ireland—Storms Drogheda—Slaughters the Garrison—Explains his Conduct—Not a Bloodthirsty Man—Other Victories—He Takes Wexford—Puts its Inhabitants to the Sword—Avenges the Protestants—Captures a Fleet—The Curse of Cromwell—Writes a Homesick Letter—Forbids the Mass—He Arraigns the Papacy—His Great Reforms in Ireland—Letter to Richard—Peace and Prosperity Follow his Conquest—Uprising in Scotland—The Parliament Recalls him—He Returns to England.

THE Commonwealth of England was practically established when, at the death of Charles I., the monarchal principle was put to sleep, and the Parliament adopted a new great seal, bearing a representation of the House of Commons, with the words, "In the first year of Freedom by God's blessing restored, 1648" (1649).

This device was suggested by the witty Harry Marten, who, while the measures for changing the form of the Government were in preparation, had used the words, "Restored to its ancient form of Commonwealth." A member questioned the propriety of the word "Restored," as he had never heard of the antiquity of the Commonwealth. Marten made the whimsical but ingenious rejoinder, that there was a text which had often troubled his spirit concerning the man who was blind from his mother's womb, but whose sight was at length restored to the sight which he should have had.¹

¹ Disraeli's *Charles the First*. Whitelock, *Parl. Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 1258.

A proclamation was issued declaring that instant death would be the portion of any one who should proclaim Charles II., or any other, King, without the consent of the Parliament.¹ It was ordered that all court proceedings should be conducted in the name of the Parliament of England.² One hundred pounds was voted as a gratuity to the King's executioner.³

One week after the King's death (February 6, 1649) the Commons, by a vote of forty-four to twenty-nine on the previous question, and by unanimous vote on the main question, solemnly abolished the House of Lords.⁴ On the next day they passed a vote running thus: "It hath been found by experience, and this House doth declare, that the office of the King, in this nation, and to have the power thereof in any single person, is unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people of this nation, and therefore ought to be abolished."⁵

On February 13th the Parliament, now consisting only of the "Rump" of the old House of Commons, provided for the creation of a Council of State, which was henceforth to have the executive power and to consist of forty-one persons. Cromwell, Bradshaw, Fairfax, Whitelock, Marten, Ludlow, and Vane were members.⁶

On March 21st the Parliament passed a declaration stating their reasons for establishing a Commonwealth, which contained a full account of their past grievances, together with an appeal to the popular prejudices by aspersing the King's memory under the old and absurd fable that he had possessed a guilty knowledge of the cause of his father's death.⁷

On April 25th the Parliament attempted to restore public confidence by passing an act of oblivion.

On May 19th the Parliament enacted:

¹ Rushworth, vol. vii., p. 1431. *Parl. Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 1281.

² *Parl. Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 1279.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 1282.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1285.

⁶ Full list of the members in *Parl. Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 1290.

⁷ *Parl. Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 1292.

"That the people of England, and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, are and shall be, and are hereby constituted, made, established, and confirmed to be, A COMMONWEALTH OR FREE STATE; and shall from henceforth be governed as a Commonwealth or Free State,—by the supreme authority of this nation the representatives of the people in Parliament, and by such as they shall appoint and constitute officers and ministers under them for the good of the people; and that without any King or House of Lords."¹

When the Council of State first met, Cromwell seems to have been chosen as its President,² though afterwards Bradshaw filled the office.

Soon (March 13, 1649) John Milton was pressed by the Council of State to accept service as one of the Latin secretaries for the Commonwealth. He was then engaged in other work, was writing history, had contracted an unhappy marriage, and was planning a series of papers proclaiming the pernicious doctrine that divorce is a boon to society. But he was wanted especially to write a reply to that book of Charles I.,—*Eikon Basilikè—The King's Image*. Its pathos and tender piety were smiting the consciences of all Englishmen.

Immediately after the death of Charles, this book had arisen as an advocate almost out of his grave. It was printed and sold within a very few days of his execution. The King was at once assumed to be its author, and the claim has never been successfully denied, although the question has ever since been the subject of an interesting controversy.³ The book contains the King's answer to all the political accusations which the Parliamentary party had made against him; and it was written with so much piety and meekness, and his sufferings were referred to with so much patience, that it caused a tre-

¹ *Parl. Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 1312.

² See an order signed by him as President *pro. tem.* in Carlyle, vol. ii., p. 21. This, although the Council of State resolved, by a vote of 22 against 16, that they would have no President. *Parl. History*, vol. iii., p. 1290.

³ The evidence that it was written by Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, is strong, but not, to my mind, at all conclusive. The internal evidence that Charles was concerned in its authorship is irresistible. Besides, it is included in his printed works, published by royal authority. See *The Works of King Charles the Martyr*, London, 1687, p. 647.

mendous revulsion of feeling. The demand for the book was so great that it passed rapidly through forty-seven editions, amounting to 48,500 copies, which were disposed of in England alone. Translations appeared in foreign countries, and the sentiment that the King had indeed died a martyr began to take such a firm hold upon the public mind, that the Parliamentary party implored John Milton to write a reply, which he promptly proceeded to do in a book entitled *Eikonoklastes, or The King's Image Destroyed*. But his style was so sarcastic and severe that it only increased the anger of the Royalists and Presbyterians.

Milton was now forty-one years old. He had been educated at St. Paul's School, and taken his degree at Cambridge. A season of travel on the continent had added much to the stores of his mind. He had already produced *Comus*, besides a number of religious treatises. His political essays, sometimes coarse in expression, sometimes harsh with passion, always suggesting the partisan and the advocate, and seldom the philosopher, were nevertheless powerful additions to the discussions of the times. Firm in his self-confidence, he had already promised the world that he would write a poem which would be the glory of his country. While pursuing his arduous duties as Cromwell's secretary, he became totally blind. Long afterwards, in a forced retirement which followed the Restoration, he wrote *Paradise Lost*, and sold it to his publisher for five pounds, with the promise of five more when 1300 copies should be sold. He had received one thousand pounds for *Eikonoklastes*. In the following noble sonnet, he paid a tribute of homage to the Puritan leader:

“ Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
Not of war only, but detractions rude,
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plough'd,
And on the neck of crowned fortune proud
Hast reared God's trophies, and his work pursued,
While Darwin stream with blood of Scots imbrued,
And Dunbar field resounds thy praises loud,
And Worcester's laureat wreath. Yet much remains

To conquer still ; peace hath her victories
 No less renowned than war ; new foes arise
 Threat'ning to bind our souls with secular chains ;
 Help us to save free conscience from the paw
 Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw."

Oliver Cromwell was very busy in these days. The marriage settlement was still to be arranged for his son Richard, idle Richard, who had taken no part in these big wars. Oliver advised him to learn business, to study mathematics, to read Raleigh's *History of the World*, to do something, anything, that would make the world respect him. Richard was by this time much in love with Mistress Dorothy, and there was much correspondence between Richard's father and Dorothy's father concerning her portion. Oliver was exacting, Mr. Mayor was cautious and thrifty. But Richard was impetuous; in short, a fond lover. "Sir," writes Oliver to Mr. Mayor, "my son had a great desire to come down, and wait upon your daughter. I perceive he minds that more than to attend to business here." A little more negociation followed, and then all was agreed to. At last they were married (May 1, 1649), and Richard led a dull, stupid, respectable, and uneventful life at Hursely, acquiring nothing from the experience of the times to fit him for his future Protectorship.

Discontent, jealousy, suspicion, seem to be spreading all over the land. The Army becomes infected. John Lilburne, an officer, is writing vicious pamphlets about *England's New Chains Discovered*. Whalley's regiment mutinies. Cromwell, furious in the face of insubordination, hastens to their quarters at Bishopsgate, arrests fifteen of the ringleaders, condemns six of them to death, but pardons five, and makes an example of one young trooper, Lockyer, who is shot. This quells the mutiny, and order is restored.

But Lilburne's pamphlets are very troublesome. They spread disorder everywhere. Their author is now a close prisoner in the Tower, but his virile pen has wrought much mischief.¹

¹ "You shall scarce speak of Cromwell," wrote Lilburne, "about anything, but he will lay his head on his breast, elevate his eyes, and call God to record. He

The Levellers rise, knowing not what they would have, exactly, but they dislike the present order of things. Their aspect is threatening. The country people swell their ranks. Their rude implements of husbandry are converted into arms. They must be crushed. Cromwell marches upon them, Fairfax being with him. The Levellers retreat north, sorry now that they ever held a grievance. The Lieutenant-General follows them with speed. All through a Sunday and Monday in the middle of May he rides after them. He covers nearly fifty miles in a day; comes up with them at midnight on Monday at the town of Burford. There is no resistance. Three of them are shot to death. He gathers others into a church, and harangues them in the Puritan style, and then pardons them. "England's New Chains" are now worn without further revolt, and Cromwell returns to London to be banqueted and thanked. He had saved the nation from anarchy. And now for Ireland.

Never, since the Catholic massacre of 1641, had the English Government been able to assert its power in that distressed country. Unpunished crime had made the bigoted rebels bold to continue the most atrocious cruelties. The heir to the throne, now calling himself Charles II., had renewed Ormond's commission as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the whole island, except the city of Dublin, was held by parties hostile to the Parliament. Ormond, an able and audacious Royalist, had planted his troops in many of the old castles. Owen Roe O'Neil, of an ancient extraction, swayed the native Catholics, and bade defiance to all English, either for King or Parliament. Abbas O'Teague led the excommunicated hordes. In Ulster there were Episcopalians for the King; Presbyterians for the King and the Covenant; and many Sectarians for the Parliament. In Dublin there was Michael Jones, a general commanding for the Parliament, who had just won a great victory by beating the Marquis of Ormond's army.

will weep, howl, and repent, even while he doth smite you under the fifth rib."
—*The Hunting of the Foxes by Five Small Beagles.*

The Parliament selected Oliver Cromwell to go to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, with plenary powers to reduce that country to obedience. He arrived in Dublin August 15, 1649. Henry Cromwell, his gallant son, and Henry Ireton, his son-in-law, were with him. A fearful anarchy prevailed on all sides. The war which had broken out in 1641 had embodied the Irish method of demanding religious liberty for Catholics. Looking back from this enlightened age, we must see that the native population had been sorely oppressed. The narrow spirit of the times had denied to them the right to practise their religion according to the forms in which they had been instructed. A Catholic had no protection for his conscience before the pale of English law, and when their churches were closed, and their lands and money confiscated, they resisted, as people who are treated with like rigour by the ruling powers must ever have the right to resist. But their extreme barbaric ignorance, their savage hatred of their oppressors, and the native fierceness of their disposition, led them beyond the line of conduct of a just rebellion into acts of cruelty and ferocity which made them resemble wild beasts. The story of their brutal treatment of the English settlers has already been told. Cromwell, with a mind oblivious of their own wrongs, brought his invading hosts to conquer them, and wreak a fearful vengeance on their crimes. But his purpose was not one of indiscriminate slaughter. Immediately after his arrival at Dublin, he issued a declaration, warning his soldiers against the practice of any cruelties, pillage, or robbery upon the common people, or those not in arms, and he threatened with death any who disobeyed in this respect. He was transported to believe himself the captain of the Most High, commissioned by Eternal Heaven to lift that unhappy land out of centuries of ignorance and superstition, and to cleave the way for the true gospel of Christ by the power of his sword.

"It is a principle," observes a philosophic French writer, "that every religion which is persecuted becomes itself persecuting; for as soon as by some accidental turn it arises from

persecution, it attacks the religion which persecuted it ; not as a religion, but as a tyranny.”¹

On the 3d of September Cromwell appeared before Drogheda or Tredagh, as it was then called, and summoned it to surrender. This city is situated in the province of Leinster, thirty-one miles north of Dublin, on the historic Boyne River. The summons being denied, he planted his batteries with extreme leisure, and did not begin to play his guns until one week after. His official report to Speaker Lenthall of this affair is terrible in its simplicity and directness. He writes :

“ Upon Tuesday, the 10th of this instant, about five o'clock in the evening, we began the storm ; and after some hot dispute we entered, about seven or eight hundred men ; the enemy disputing it very stiffly with us. And indeed, through the advantages of the place, and the courage God was pleased to give the defenders, our men were forced to retreat quite out of the breach, not without some considerable loss.”

He does not tell the fact that he, viewing this repulse from the batteries, placed himself at the head of the charging column, and led the second attack in person. But he says :

“ Being encouraged to recover their loss, they made a second attempt ; wherein God was pleased so to animate them that they got ground of the enemy, and, by the goodness of God, forced him to quit his entrenchments. . . . Divers of the enemy retreated into the Mill-Mount : a place very strong and of difficult access, being exceedingly high, having a good graft, and strongly palisadoed. The Governor, Sir Arthur Ashton, and divers considerable officers being there, our men getting up to them, *were ordered by me to put them all to the sword. And indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town : and, I think, that night they put to the sword about 2,000 men ;* divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the bridge into the other part of the town, where about 100 of them possessed St. Peter's Church-steeple, some the Westgate, and others a strong Round Tower next the Gate called St. Sunday's. These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused. Whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peter's Church to be fired, when one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames, ‘ God damn me, God confound me, I burn, I burn ! ’ ”

Night put a stop to the dreadful carnage. But at day-break it was resumed. Sir Arthur Aston, the English Governor, and Sir Edmund Verney, son of the standard-bearer

¹ Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws*, vol. ii., p. 180.

at Edgehill, were slain. The frightened survivors were caught and killed. Especial delight was manifested in killing the priests.¹ But two of these men escaped the first slaughter, and they were found the next day, and knocked on the head by the soldiers. In all, 3000 men were put to the sword.² Cromwell justifies his conduct by a soldier's logic. He writes :

"I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, *and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future* : which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret. The officers and soldiers of this garrison were the flower of their army ; and their great expectation was, that our attempting this place would put fair to ruin us, they being confident of the resolution of their men, and the advantage of the place. . . . And now give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought. It was set upon some of our hearts, that a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the Spirit of God. And is it not so, clearly ? That which caused your men to storm so courageously, it was the Spirit of God who gave your men courage, and took it away again ; and gave the enemy courage, and took it away again ; and gave your men courage again, and therewith this happy success. And therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory."³

We have told the story of this frightful encounter chiefly in Cromwell's own words, because Cromwell, as his own witness, has not attempted to evade any part of the responsibility for the slaughter. His purpose in killing the garrison of Drogheda is very plainly expressed by him, and that the result which he so acutely anticipated was speedily accomplished, is shown by this testimony from Carte, the biographer of Ormond : "The execrable policy of that Regicide," says Carte, "had the effect he proposed. It spread abroad the terror of his name."

Cromwell entreated the Parliament to send him money and recruits. "We keep the field much," he wrote, "our tents sheltering us from the wet and cold. But yet the country sickness overtakes many : and therefore we desire recruits, and

¹ For the harsh treatment of the priests, see Prendergast's *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, London, 1865, p. 154.

² Chaplain Hugh Peters reported the losses to the Parliament as 3552 Irish, and only 64 English. Whitelock, vol. ii., p. 110.

³ Cromwell's account, *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 63.

some fresh regiments of foot, may be sent us. For it's easily conceived by what the garrisons already drink up, what our field army will come to, if God shall give more garrisons into our hands."

From Drogheda Cromwell marched to Dundalk, a seaport town. He was not a bloodthirsty man; in spite of all the rigors of his battles his policy was that of a stern but humane general. Leading an unconquerable army, he sent this summons to the Governor of Dundalk. A bloodthirsty man would not have written thus:

"12th September, 1649.

"SIR:

"I offered mercy to the Garrison of Tredagh [Drogheda], in sending the Governor a Summons before I attempted the taking of it. Which being refused brought their evil upon them.

"If you, being warned thereby, shall surrender your Garrison to the use of the Parliament of England, which by this I summon you to do, you may thereby prevent effusion of blood. If, upon refusing this Offer, that which you like not befalls you, you will know whom to blame. I rest, your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

Dundalk surrendered; so did Trim, to the south of it. The intrepid commander left a force of Ironsides to garrison each captured city, which diminished the strength of his marching column, and he sent divers parties to conquer other strongholds. Upon receiving the reports of his operations, the Parliament made haste to send him more troops, which joined him in due time.

After refreshing his soldiers at Dublin, Cromwell (September 23d) marched south, and proceeded to invest his troops in some twenty Irish strongholds with scarcely any opposition. The Castle of Arklow, belonging to Ormond, was taken without resistance. At Limerick, Ferns, and Enniscorthy strong castles fell into his hands with varied spoil. By October 1st he had reached the southeastern extremity of Ireland and come before Wexford, a seaport city seventy-four miles south of Dublin, situated at the mouth of the river Slaney, in the province of Leinster. A large garrison of English and Irish soldiers was strongly fortified in this town, under the command of Colonel

David Sinnott, and it was their fierce intention to resist the Puritan invaders to victory or death.

Cromwell has been often anathematized as a man of blood for his massacres at Drogheda and Wexford. But an examination of the facts must vindicate his conduct. He had offered fair terms to the garrison at Drogheda before assaulting their stronghold, and they had preferred to take the chances of battle. At Wexford he urged for many days the peaceable surrender of the place, postponing the last extremity of war even after he perceived that the defenders were trifling with him, and were prolonging the negotiations only to gain time for receiving reinforcements. The correspondence which passed between Cromwell and David Sinnott, the Governor of Wexford, is sufficient to exculpate the Puritan leader from the charge of a thirst for human blood. His first summons was as follows:

“To the COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE TOWN OF WEXFORD.

“Before WEXFORD, 3rd October, 1649.

“SIR,

“Having brought the Army belonging to the Parliament of England before this place, to reduce it to its due obedience: to the end effusion of blood may be prevented, and the Town and Country about it preserved from ruin, I thought fit to summon you to deliver the same to me, to the use of the State of England.

“By this offer, I hope it will clearly appear where the guilt will lie, if innocent persons should come to suffer with the nocent. I expect your speedy answer; and rest, Sir, your servant,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”

To this Sinnott replied:

“For the LORD-GENERAL CROMWELL.

“WEXFORD, 3rd October, 1649.

“SIR,

“I received your Letter of Summons for the delivery of this Town into your hands. Which standeth not with my honour to do of myself; neither will I take it upon me, without the advice of the rest of the Officers and Mayor of this Corporation; this town being of so great consequence to all Ireland. Whom I will call together, and confer with; and return my resolution to you to-morrow by twelve of the clock.

“In the mean time, if you be so pleased, I am content to forbear all acts of hostility, so you permit no approach to be made. Expecting your answer in that particular, I remain, my Lord,—your Lordship’s servant,

“D. SINNOTT.”

Cromwell's answer was brief and to the point :

"SIR,

"I am contented to expect your resolution by twelve of the clock to-morrow morning. Because our tents are not so good a covering as your houses, and for other reasons, I cannot agree to a cessation. I rest,—your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

But Sinnott adroitly spun out the correspondence until the 9th; and Cromwell's official report says :

"Our cannon being landed, and we having removed all our quarters to the south-east end of the Town, next the Castle, which stands without the Walls, 6th October,—it was generally agreed that we should bend the whole strength of our artillery upon the Castle; being persuaded that if we got the Castle the Town would easily follow. Upon Thursday the 11th instant (our batteries being finished the night before), we began to play betimes in the morning; and having spent near a hundred shot, the Governor's stomach came down; and he sent to me to give leave for four persons, intrusted by him, to come unto me, and offer terms of surrender. Which I condescended to, two Field-Officers, with an Alderman of the Town, and the Captain of the Castle brought out the Propositions enclosed, which for their abominableness manifesting also the impudency of the men, I thought fit to present to your view—together with my Answer :

The propositions contained in addition to the usual conditions for the lives and property of the inhabitants some severe stipulations for the permanent establishment of the Catholic religion; stipulations which were very repugnant and utterly offensive to the leader of a Puritan Army. But Cromwell wrote a very patient and reasonable reply; and his report continues :

"Whilst these papers were passing between us, I sent the Lieutenant General, Michael Jones, with a party of dragoons, horse and foot, to endeavour to reduce their Fort, which lay at the mouth of their harbour, about ten miles distant from us. To which he sent a troop of dragoons; but the Enemy quitted their Fort, leaving behind them about seven great guns; betook themselves, by the help of their boats, to a Frigate of twelve guns lying in the harbour, within cannon-shot of the Fort. The dragoons possessed the Fort: and some seamen belonging to your Fleet coming happily in at the same time, they bent their guns at the Frigate, and she immediately yielded to mercy,—both herself, the soldiers that had been in the Fort, and the seamen that manned her. And whilst our men were in her, the Town, not knowing what had happened, sent another small vessel to her; which our men also took.

The Governor of the Town having obtained from me a Safe-conduct for the four persons mentioned in one of the papers, to come and treat with me about the surrender of the Town, I expected they should have done so. But instead thereof, the Earl of Castlehaven brought to their relief, on the north side of the river, about five-hundred foot. Which occasioned their refusal to send out any to treat; and caused me to revoke my safe-conduct, not thinking it fit to leave it for them to make use of it when they pleased."

Still Sinnott wrote apologies for not surrendering, and still Cromwell sent him fairly polite replies; one of which follows:

"For the COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN THE TOWN OF WEXFORD.

"Before WEXFORD, 11th October, 1649.

"SIR,

"I have had the patience to peruse your Propositions; to which I might have returned an Answer with some disdain. But, to be short,—

"I shall give the Soldiers and Noncommissioned officers quarter for life, and leave to go to their several habitations, with their wearing-clothes; they engaging themselves to live quietly there, and to take up arms no more against the Parliament of England. And the Commissioned Officers quarter for their lives, but to render themselves Prisoners. And as for the Inhabitants, I shall engage myself that no violence shall be offered to their goods, and that I shall protect the Town from plunder.

"I expect your positive Answer instantly; and if you will upon these terms surrender and quit, [and] shall, in one hour, send forth to me Four Officers of the quality of Field-Officers, and Two Aldermen, for the performance thereof, I shall thereupon forbear all acts of hostility. Your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

As Sinnott still vacillated, the Irish officer in charge of the Castle was bribed to surrender it. The Roundheads then stormed the walls of the town and entered it with their ladders. The garrison resisted gallantly but their chance of life was now gone. The entire force under arms, and some of the non-combatants, were violently put to death to the number of two thousand. The townspeople fled away in terror and the city became the spoil of Cromwell's troopers. Those who attempted to escape by boats so overloaded the frail crafts that they met death in the water. Cromwell continues his report:

"I believe, in all, there was lost of the enemy not many less than two thousand, and I believe not twenty of yours from first to last of the siege. And indeed it

hath, not without cause, been deeply set upon our hearts, that, we intending better to this place than so great a ruin, hoping the town might be of more use to you and your army, yet God would not have it so ; but by an unexpected providence, in His righteous justice, brought a just judgment upon them ; causing them to become a prey to the soldier who in their piracies had made preys of so many families, and now with their bloods to answer the cruelties which they had exercised upon the lives of divers poor Protestants ! Two instances of which I have been lately acquainted with. About seven or eight score poor Protestants were by them put into an old vessel ; which being, as some say, bulged by them, the vessel sank, and they were all presently drowned in the Harbour. The other [instance] was thus : They put divers poor Protestants into a Chapel (which, since, they have used for a Mass-house, and in which one or more of their priests were now killed), where they were famished to death.

“ The soldiers got a very good booty in this place ; and had not they had opportunity to carry their goods over the River, whilst we besieged it, it would have much more :—I could have wished for their own good, and the good of the Garrison, they had been more moderate. Some things which were not easily portable, we hope we shall make use of to your behoof. There are great quantities of iron, hides, tallow, salt, pipe- and barrel-staves ; which are under Commissioners’ hands, to be secured. We believe there are near a hundred cannon in the Fort, and elsewhere in and about the Town. Here is likewise some very good shipping ; here are three vessels, one of them of thirty-four guns, which a week’s time would fit to sea ; there is another of about twenty guns, very near ready likewise. And one other Frigate of twenty guns, upon the stocks ; made for sailing ; which is built up to the uppermost deck ; for her handsomeness’ sake, I have appointed the workmen to finish her, here being materials to do it, if you or the Council of State shall approve thereof. The Frigate, also, taken beside the Fort, is a most excellent vessel for sailing. Besides divers other ships and vessels in the Harbour.

“ This Town is now so in your power, that of the former inhabitants, I believe scarce one in twenty can challenge any property in their houses. Most of them are run away, and many of them killed in this service. And it were to be wished, that an honest people would come and plant here ;—where are very good houses, and other accommodations fitted in their hands, which may by your favour be made of encouragement to them. As also a seat of good trade, both inward and outward ;—and of marvellous great advantage in the point of the herring and other fishing. The Town is pleasantly seated and strong, having a rampart of earth within the wall near fifteen feet thick.

“ Thus it hath pleased God to give into your hands this other mercy. For which, as for all, we pray God may have all the glory. Indeed your instruments are poor and weak and can do nothing but through believing,—and that is the gift of God also.

“ I humbly take leave, and rest, your most humble servant,

“ OLIVER CROMWELL.” ¹

¹ Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 71.

This was the "Curse of Cromwell" which the Puritan invader had fastened upon Ireland. To this day his memory is execrated by the native Catholics. There were many rumours in England of his progress, some of which indicated that he had been slain and his Army destroyed; others, that his pathway was marked by fire and death and conquest; on hearing which a Royalist poet, Will Douglas, wrote thus:

"Cromwell is dead, and risen; and dead again,
And risen the third time after he was slain:
No wonder! For he's messenger of Hell:—
And now he buffets us, now posts to tell
What's past; and for one more game new counsel takes
Of his good friend the Devil, who keeps the stakes."

The duties and the fatigues of war could never disengage Cromwell's heart from those whom he had left at home. He wrote this letter to the father of Richard's wife. There is an exquisite tenderness and pathos in it; the soldier in a hostile country is homesick,—we suspect:

"For my beloved Brother RICHARD MAYOR, ESQUIRE, at Hursley: These.

"ROSS, 13th November, 1649.

"DEAR BROTHER:

"I am not often at leisure, nor now, to salute my friends; yet unwillingly to lose this opportunity. I take it, only to let you know that you and your Family are often in my prayers. As for Dick, I do not much expect it from him, knowing his idleness; but I am angry with my Daughter as a promise-breaker. Pray tell her so;—but I hope she will redeem herself.

"It has pleased the Lord to give us (since the taking of Wexford and Ross) a good interest in Munster, by the accession of Cork and Youghal, which are both submitted; their Commanders are now with me. Divers other lesser Garrisons are come in also. The Lord is wonderful in these things; it's His hand alone does them; oh that all the praise might be ascribed to Him!

"I have been crazy in my health; but the Lord is pleased to sustain me. I beg your prayers. I desire you to call upon my Son to mind the things of God more and more! alas, what profit is there in the things of this world!—except they be enjoyed in Christ they are snares. I wish he may enjoy his Wife so, and she him; I wish I may enjoy them both so.

"My service to my dear Sister and Cousin Ann; my blessing to my Children, and love to my Cousin Barton and the rest. Sir, I am, your affectionate brother and servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."¹

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 90.

Young Charles the Second had come as far as the Isle of Jersey, being strongly tempted to join Ormond in Ireland ; but when the story of how his affairs were failing there was brought to him he came not thither. Prince Rupert, bearing an Admiral's commission, and having done some bold things on the high seas which were not far from piracy, had reached the coast of Ireland, expecting further glory. He now sailed away to the West Indies, where he soon after lost his brother, Prince Maurice, beneath a tempestuous wave. Rupert troubled the Parliament but little henceforward.

From Wexford Cromwell proceeded to Ross. Ormond, Castlehaven, and other generals were there, but after providing a strong garrison, they themselves discreetly retired. The Governor, Sir Lucas Taafe, made some show of intending to resist, but Cromwell's sharp letters and sharper batteries brought him to his senses in time, and he surrendered. "You may see how God pulls down proud stomachs," was Oliver's comment. Sir Lucas had stipulated for liberty of conscience for the inhabitants of Ross ; and Cromwell replied : "As for that which you mention concerning liberty of conscience, I meddle not with any man's conscience. But if, by liberty of conscience, you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, where the Parliament of England have power, *that* will not be allowed of." The English part of the garrison enlisted under him. There was victory everywhere ; but neither the magnificent Army which Cromwell himself had organised and disciplined until it was sensible and pliant to his lightest designs, nor its incomparable and splendid achievements, could evoke any sentiment in his devout heart but that of fervent gratitude to Heaven as the fountain of all mercies. He wrote :

"We are able to say nothing as to all this but that the Lord is still pleased to own a company of poor worthless creatures ; for which we desire his name to be magnified, and that the hearts of all concerned may be provoked to walk worthy of such continued favours."

Intelligence came to him that the sentiment of the people at

Cork was daily becoming more favourable to a Parliamentary allegiance. He prayed the Parliament to send money, clothes, shoes, and stockings for his men, and likewise new soldiers. "Through the same blessed Presence that has gone along with us," he wrote, "I hope, before it be long, to see Ireland no burden to England, but a profitable part of its Commonwealth."¹

Cromwell was prostrated by sickness at Ross. And so were many of his followers. "To the praise of God I speak it," he said, "I scarce know one officer of forty amongst us that hath not been sick. And how many considerable ones we have lost, is no little thought of heart to us." But he would never stop the work he had undertaken. He sent Ireton and Jones ahead with the Army, who came up with Lord Inchquin and the rebels, and after an inconsiderable engagement put them to flight. Cromwell soon joined them and sat down before Waterford.

In describing his many fresh victories to the Parliament as he lay in the cold November nights before Waterford, he makes use of this characteristic language:

"Sir, what can be said in these things? Is it an arm of flesh that hath done these things? Is it the wisdom and counsel, or strength of men? It is the Lord only! God will curse that man and his house that dares to think otherwise! Sir, you see the work is done by a Divine leading. God gets into hearts of men, and persuades them to come under you. I tell you, a considerable part of your Army is fitter for an hospital than the field: if the Enemy did not know it, I should have held it impolitic to have writ this. They know it; yet they know not what to do."

He then undertakes to advise his brethren in England against dissensions. "I beg of those that are faithful," he says, "that they give glory to God. I wish it may have influence upon the hearts and spirits of all those that are now in place of government, in the greatest trust,—that they may all in heart draw near to God; giving him glory by holiness of life and conversation." Was it a wonder that these letters of the great

¹ Letter to Speaker Lenthall, Carlyle, vol. ii., p. 92.

Puritan were publicly read, by order of Parliament, in all the pulpits of England? He hopes—

“that these unspeakable mercies may teach dissenting brethren on all sides to agree, at least, in praising God. And if the Father of the family be so kind, why should there be such jarrings and heartburnings among the children? And if it will not be received that these are the seals of God’s approbation of your great Change of Government,—which indeed are no more yours than these victories and successes are ours,—yet let them with us say, even the most unsatisfied heart amongst them, that both are the righteous judgments and mighty works of God. He hath pulled the mighty from his seat, and called to an account for innocent blood. He thus breaks the enemies of his Church in pieces. And let them not be sullen, but praise the Lord,—and think of us as they please; and we shall be satisfied, and pray for them and wait upon our God. And we hope we shall seek the welfare and peace of our native country: and the Lord give them hearts to do so too. Indeed, Sir, I was constrained in my bowels to write thus much.”¹

It was thus that his faith stirred the heart of Cromwell in the gloom of the winter siege in that hostile country.

Waterford was, for the present, unassailable. Large reinforcements had just arrived for the rebels. Cromwell’s Army was in no condition to attempt to storm it; and so, on the 2d of December, 1649,—“so terrible a day,” he says, “as ever I marched in all my life,”—he set out for Cork, but paused to beat Ormond at a place called the Fort of Passage.

Under Cromwell’s extraordinary genius his pen possessed a power equal to that of his sword. Arrived at Cork he published *A Declaration for the Undeceiving of Deluded and Seduced People*,² in which he replied to all the charges of cruelty and persecution which the Irish priests had made against him since his coming into their country. There is a tone of thunder in his scorn. In speaking of their Union which was organised to resist him, he says:

“By the grace of God, we fear not, we care not for it. Your covenant is with Death and Hell! Your union is like that of Simeon and Levi: ‘Associate yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces; take counsel together, and it shall come to naught!’ For though it becomes us to be humble in respect of ourselves, yet we can say to you: God is not with you. You say, Your union is against a common

¹ Letter to Speaker Lenthall, Carlyle, vol. ii., p. 98.

² Carlyle, vol. ii., p. 114.

enemy, and to this, if you will be talking of 'union,' I will give you some worm-wood to bite on ; by which it will appear God is not with you. . . . You, unprovoked, put the English to the most unheard of and most barbarous massacre (without respect of sex or age) that ever the Sun beheld."

He boldly advances upon polemic grounds :

"He that bids us 'contend for the faith once delivered to the saints,' tells us that we should do it by 'avoiding the spirit of Cain, Corah, and Balaam' ; and by building up *ourselves* in the most holy faith,—not pinning it upon other men's sleeves. Praying 'in the Holy Ghost,' not mumbling over Matins. Keeping 'ourselves in the love of God,' not destroying men because they will not be of our faith. 'Waiting for the mercy of Jesus Christ,' not cruel, but merciful ! But, alas, why is this said ? Why are these pearls cast before you ? You are resolved not to be charmed from 'using the instrument of a foolish shepherd' ! You are a part of Antichrist, whose Kingdom the Scripture so expressly speaks should be 'laid in blood' ; yea, 'in the blood of the saints.' You have shed great store of that already !"

The recent abuses spring up in his mind. He says :

"Arbitrary power is a thing men begin to be weary of, in Kings and Churchmen ; their juggle between them mutually to uphold Civil and Ecclesiastical Tyranny begins to be transparent. Some have cast off *both* ; and hope by the grace of God to keep so. Others are at it ! Many thoughts are laid up about it, which will have their issue and vent. This principle, That people are for Kings and Churches, and saints are for the Pope or Churchmen, as you call them, begins to be exploded ;—and therefore I wonder not to see the Fraternity so much enraged. I wish the people wiser than to be troubled at you ; or solicitous for what you say or do."

His hatred of Popery blazes out :

"But how dare you assume to call these men your Flocks, whom you have plunged into so horrid a rebellion, by which you have made them and the country almost a ruinous heap ? And whom you have fleeced and polled and peeled hitherto, and make it your business to do so still. You cannot feed them ! You poison them with your false, abominable and antichristian doctrine and practices. You keep the Word of God from them ; and instead thereof give them your senseless Orders and Traditions. You teach them 'implicit belief' ; he that goes amongst them may find many that do not understand anything in the matters of your Religion. I have had few better answers from any since I came into Ireland that are of your Flocks than this, That indeed they did not trouble themselves about matters of Religion, but left that to the Church ! Thus are your Flocks fed ; and such credit have you of them. But they must take heed of 'losing their Religion.' Alas, poor creatures, what have they to lose ?"

He answers their allegation that he came to despoil them of their lands, thus :

"But what? Was the English Army brought over for *this* purpose, as you allege? Do you think that the State of England will be at five or six millions charge merely to procure purchasers to be invested in that for which they did disburse little above a quarter of a million? . . . No, I can give you a better reason for the Army coming over than this. England hath had experience of the blessing of God in prosecuting just and righteous causes, whatever the cost and hazard be! And if ever men were engaged in a righteous cause in the world, this will scarce be a second to it. We are come to ask an account of the innocent blood that hath been shed, and to endeavour to bring to an account,—by the blessing and presence of the Almighty, in whom alone is our hope and strength,—all who, by appearing in arms, seek to justify the same. We come to break the power of a company of lawless rebels, who having cast off the authority of England, live as enemies to human society; whose principles, the world hath experience, are, to destroy and subjugate all men not complying with them. We come, by the assistance of God, to hold forth and maintain the lustre and glory of English liberty in a nation where we have undoubted right to do it;—wherein the people of Ireland (if they listen not to such seducers as you are) may equally participate in all benefits; to use their liberty and fortune equally with Englishmen, if they keep out of arms."

The expenses of his military operations were enormous, and the extraordinary drain upon the resources of his already impoverished country moved him to the deepest solicitude. But he looked upon the Irish war as a necessity of civilisation and of Protestantism, and with this view before his mind he wrote to the Parliament on the subject as follows :

"Sir, I desire the charge [cost] of England as to this War may be abated as much as may be, and as we know you do desire, out of your care to the Commonwealth. But if you expect your work to be done, if the marching Army be not constantly paid, and the course taken that hath been humbly represented,—indeed it will not be for the thrift of England, as far as England is concerned in the speedy reduction of Ireland. The money we raise upon the counties maintains the garrison forces; and hardly that. If the active force be not maintained, and all contingencies defrayed, how can you expect but to have a lingering business of it? Surely we desire not to spend a shilling of your treasury, wherein our consciences do not prompt us. We serve you; we are willing to be out of our trade of war; and shall hasten, by God's assistance and grace, to the end of our work, as the labourer doth to be at his rest. This makes us bold to be earnest with you for necessary supplies :—that of money is one. As there be some other things,—which indeed I do not think for your service to speak of publicly, which I shall humbly represent to the Council of State,—wherewith I desire we may be accommodated."

With the opening of the year 1650 he gives his soldiers a breathing spell, while he, spurning to spare himself, turns his attention to rehabilitating the courts of justice in Dublin, and doing much other work not only in the way of conquest but of pacification.

Michael Jones, his valiant aide, perished under the privations of the war, and Cromwell speaks thus touchingly of his death :

“The noble Lieutenant-General,—whose finger, to our knowledge, never ached in all these expeditions,—fell sick ; we doubt upon a cold taken upon our late march and ill accommodation : and went to Dungarvan, where, struggling some four or five days with a fever, he died ; having run his course with so much honour, courage, and fidelity, as his actions better speak than my pen. What England lost hereby, is above me to speak. I am sure I lost a noble friend and companion in labours. You see how God mingles out the cup unto us. Indeed we are at this time a crazy company :—yet we live in His sight ; and shall work the time that is appointed us, and shall rest after that in peace.”

On the 29th of January he again took the field. “Though God hath blessed you with a great longitude of land,” he wrote to Speaker Lenthall, “along the shore, yet hath it but little depth into the country.”¹ His second campaign was planned to accomplish the reduction of the inland fortresses. There was grave reason for his haste. The Parliament was becoming alarmed at the unmistakable tendencies in Scotland for Charles II. Cromwell was the only Englishman capable of restoring English authority in that kingdom. A formal letter, recalling him to England, had already been despatched, but he delayed his return until he could still further advance the work in Ireland. His march was northward, and every day almost he took a castle, a garrison, or a town. Kilkenny Castle opened its gates as soon as he appeared before them. Next Clogheen House submitted. Then Roghill Castle, the town of Knocktofer, and a fort called Old Castletown, were taken. Fitzharris Castle attempted a defence, but was carried by storm, and all its officers were slain, the common soldiers being spared. These conquests required the Lord-Lieutenant to leave many of his troops behind to do garrison duty, and, as he had sent

¹ Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 468.

Ireton and Henry Cromwell on other service, he arrived at the town of Fethard with only two hundred followers, and without ladders or guns, and sent his summons in the night. They rashly fired on his trumpeter, which they would have dearly repaid had he been better accompanied. But when they found it was really Cromwell who stood outside the walls they yielded their town to him, although there were then "about seventeen companies of the Ulster foot in Cashel, above five miles from thence." Gaining some reinforcements, Callan was taken, and some officers "who betrayed our garrison of Enniscorthy" were hanged. Ballysonan and Craigie House fell, and then Cromwell, for the first time since coming to Ireland, faced an officer of high rank, the Earl of Castlehaven. But Castlehaven had no spirit to stand before the indomitable conqueror, and vanished away. Leighlin Castle was reduced by assault; Gowran Castle resisted, but was taken by storm, and its officers were shot to death with the exception of one who had urged a surrender at the first summons. "In the same Castle also," says Cromwell, "we took a Popish priest, who was chaplain to the Catholics in this regiment; who was caused to be hanged."

On the 25th of February, 1650, the Commons gratefully passed a vote of thanks to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland for his services; and they then ordered that Cromwell's family should have the use of the lodgings called the Cockpit, a sumptuous royal house in Whitehall. Cromwell thought that his mission was not yet sufficiently accomplished to permit of his return to England, and he wrote thus to the Speaker:

"Having given you this account concerning your affairs, I am now obliged to give you an account concerning myself, which I shall do with all clearness and honesty.

"I have received divers private intimations of your pleasure to have me come in person to wait upon you in England, as also copies of Votes of the Parliament to that purpose. But considering the way they came to me was but by private intimations, and the Votes did refer to a Letter to be signed by the Speaker,—I thought it would have been too much forwardness in me to have left my charge here, until the said Letter came; it being not fit for me to prophesy whether the Letter would be an absolute command, or having limitations with a liberty left by

the Parliament to me, to consider in what way to yield my obedience. Your Letter came to my hands upon Friday, the 22nd of March, the same day that I came before the City of Kilkenny, and when I was near the same. And I understood by Dr. Cartwright, who delivered it to me, that reason of cross winds, and the want of shipping in the West of England, where he was, hindered him from coming with it sooner; it bearing date the 8th of January, and not coming to my hands until the 22nd of March.

"The Letter supposed your Army in Winter-quarters, and the time of the year not suitable for present action; making this as the reason of your command. And your forces have been in action ever since the 29th of January; and your Letter, which was to be the rule of my obedience, coming to my hands after our having been so long in action,—with respect had to the reasons you were pleased to use therein, [I knew not what to do.] And having received a Letter signed by yourself, of the 26th of February, which mentions not a word of the continuance of your pleasure concerning my coming over, I did humbly conceive it much consisting with my duty, humbly to beg a positive signification what your will is; professing (as before the Lord) that I am most ready to obey your commands herein with all alacrity; rejoicing only to be about that work which I am called to by those whom God hath set over me, which I acknowledge you to be; and fearing only in obeying you, to disobey you.

"I most humbly and earnestly beseech you to judge for me, whether your Letter doth not naturally allow me the liberty of begging a more clear expression of your command and pleasure. Which, when vouchsafed unto me, will find most ready and cheerful obedience from, Sir, your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

On March 22d, he sat down before the town of Kilkenny, and demanded its reduction to the obedience of the State of England, "from which," he wrote, "by an unheard-of massacre of the innocent English, you have endeavoured to rend yourselves. And as God hath begun to judge you with His sore plagues, so will he follow you until he hath destroyed you, if you repent not." But his demand was stoutly refused by Sir Walter Butler, its Royalist governor. Thereupon the batteries began to play on the town walls until, after a hundred cannon shot, a breach was forced, and a storming party entered. This brought the garrison to a sense of its peril, and, on the fourth day, the city was rendered to him. Some officers who had revolted from the Parliament service were quickly hanged.¹

Amid the deep concerns of State and war, Cromwell took time to write letters to his family, which, more than any other

¹ Cromwell's account, Carlyle, vol. ii., p. 148.

evidence we can present, disclose the real piety and nobility of his mind. To Richard Mayor he said :

"The taking of the City of Kilkenny hath been one of our last works ; which indeed I believe hath been a great discomposing the Enemy,—it's so much in their bowels. We have taken many considerable places lately, without much loss. What can we say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? Who can fight against the Lord and prosper? Who can resist His will? The Lord keep us in His love.

"I desire your prayers ; your Family is often in mine. I rejoice to hear how it hath pleased the Lord to deal with my Daughter. The Lord bless her and sanctify all His dispensations to them and us. I have committed my Son to you ; I pray counsel him. Some Letters I have lately had from him have a good savour : the Lord treasure up grace there, that out of that treasury He may bring forth good things."

And then to Richard Cromwell he wrote this letter, which only a Puritan father could write to a beloved son :

"For my beloved Son RICHARD CROMWELL, Esquire, at Hursley in Hampshire : These.

"CARRICK, 2d April, 1650.

"DICK CROMWELL,

"I take your letter kindly : I like expressions when they come plainly from the heart, and are not strained nor affected.

"I am persuaded it's the Lord's mercy to place you where you are : I wish you may own it and be thankful, fulfilling all relations to the glory of God. Seek the Lord and His face continually : let this be the business of your life and strength, and let all things be subservient and in order to this ! You cannot find nor behold the face of God but in Christ ; therefore labour to know God in Christ, which the Scripture makes to be the sum of all, even Life Eternal. Because the true knowledge is not literal or speculative ; [no] but inward ; transforming the mind to it. It's uniting to, and participating of, the Divine Nature (Second Peter, i., 4) : 'That by these ye might be partakers of the Divine Nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust.' It's such a knowledge as Paul speaks of (Philippians, iii., 8-10) : 'Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the Knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord. For whom I have suffered the loss of all things ; and do count them but dung that I may win Christ, and be found in Him, not having mine own righteousness which is of the Law, but that which is through the Faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by Faith ; that I may know Him, and the power of His Resurrection, and the fellowship of His sufferings ; being made conformable unto His death.' How little of this knowledge is among us ! My weak prayers shall be for you.

"Take heed of an unactive vain spirit ! Recreate yourself with Sir Walter Raleigh's History ; it's a Body of History ; and will add much more to your under-

standing than fragments of Story. Intend [endeavour] to understand the Estate I have settled: it's your concernment to know it all, and how it stands. I have heretofore suffered much by too much trusting others. I know my brother Mayor will be helpful to you in all this.

"You will think, perhaps, I need not advise you to love your wife! The Lord teach you how to do it; or else it will be done ill-favouredly. Though Marriage be no instituted Sacrament, yet where the undefiled bed is, and love, this union aptly resembles [that of] Christ and his Church. If you can truly love your Wife, what [love] doth Christ bear to His Church and every poor soul therein, who 'gave Himself' for it and to it! Commend me to your Wife; tell her I entirely love her, and rejoice in the goodness of the Lord to her. I wish her everyway fruitful. I thank her for her loving Letter.

"I have presented my love to my Sister and Cousin Ann, etc., in my Letter to my Brother Mayor. I would not have him alter his affairs because of my debt. My purse is as his: my present thoughts are but to lodge such a sum for my two little Girls; it's in his hand as well as anywhere. I shall not be wanting to accommodate him to his mind; I would not have him solicitous. Dick, the Lord bless you every way. I rest, your loving Father,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

Retracing his steps a little, he came before Clonmel (May 9th) in Tipperary, on the river Suir, and met the stoutest foe he had encountered in all Ireland. The commander in Clonmel was Hugh O'Neil, who fought Cromwell's storming hosts until it became a death-struggle in the trenches. For four hours the soldiers were at push of pike, and there were more Roundheads slain than in any other engagement of that campaign. But night came and O'Neil drew out his forces and retreated. Cromwell, having battered down the castle, occupied the town, and when he found the garrison had quitted it, he set out after them and slew two hundred in the pursuit.¹

The Puritan Parliament passed a humane act for the settlement of Ireland whereby "all husbandmen, ploughmen, labourers, artificers, and others of the meaner sort" should be exempt from punishment for the awful massacre, which Cromwell had already avenged; and prescribing graded punishments, under trial at law, of death, banishment, or confiscation of their estates, for those who held official positions or had influenced the atrocities against the Protestants. A Protestant Church of Ireland was likewise established, and the Puritan doctrines

¹ Carlyle, vol. ii., p. 157.

of righteousness and salvation were preached every Sunday from pulpits where Calvinistic Presbyterianism had never before been heard. In a large part of Ireland the ancient faith was well-nigh exterminated. This arrangement of order, piety, and peace was the "Curse" which Cromwell put upon the country, and even Lord Clarendon admits that Ireland never flourished to such an extent before.

He would have lingered in Ireland through the approaching summer, but affairs in Scotland would not wait.

He appointed his son-in-law, Henry Ireton, his Deputy Lord-Lieutenant. For Ireton's judgment, vigour, and tact he entertained a high regard, and Ireton's prosecution of the Irish work was brilliantly pressed forward until, on the 11th of November, 1651, he died of the plague before the beleaguered walls of Limerick. Edmund Ludlow, who, in spite of the sour *Memorials* he has left us, was a valiant soldier of the Commonwealth, succeeded to the command of the Irish forces at the death of Ireton. Henry Cromwell was likewise appointed to continue in Ireland, where he acquitted himself with most admirable ability and courage. Leaving these men to subdue the last sparks of rebellion, Oliver Cromwell,—having set the "Curse of Cromwell" on that land in such a way as to restore the distracted nation to peace and prosperity, embarked on board a Parliamentary frigate, and in the last days of May returned to England. He had killed men in the trade of war. Alas! many thousands of them had fallen before his sword. But his practice first and last was to offer quarter, and then, if resisted, to pursue his victory to the last extremity. He held with all successful generals, that battles are fought to conquer, not to conciliate, the enemy. This was the extent of his "cruelties" in Ireland. He had been equally "cruel" in England at Marston Moor and Naseby; and he was soon to employ the same policy against the Scots at Dunbar and Worcester. Ireland, in spite of her woes, was never before so tranquil as in the days of his ascendancy; nor has she ever since been so prosperous in her commerce and her industry.

Fairfax and the chief officers of the Army, with the members

of Parliament and of the Council of State, met him on Hounslow Heath and escorted him to London. "What a crowd come out to see your Lordship's triumph," said one of his admirers. "Yes," answered Oliver, with that dry humour which he was ever fond to indulge, "but if it were to see me hanged, how many more would there be!"





CHAPTER XXI.

SCOTLAND—DUNBAR AND WORCESTER.

Montrose Returns to Scotland—His Defeat—His Execution—Young Charles Stuart is Crowned King of Scotland—Cromwell Appointed Lord-General—Letter—He Considers High Station a Burden—Marches for Scotland—Skirmishes with the Scots—A Paper War—The Ironsides in a Trap—Battle of Dunbar—Cromwell's Enthusiasm on the Field—Letters—Enters Edinburgh—Scoffs at the Infallible Chair—Is Appointed Chancellor of Oxford University—His Sickness—Favors a University for Durham—His Painful Letter Concerning Richard—Charles Adopts a Clever Strategy—And Invades England—Cromwell Chagrined—But Follows him—Battle of Worcester—Cromwell's Crowning Victory—Charles's Romantic Adventures.

THE heroic Marquis of Montrose, acting under a commission from Charles II., had returned to Scotland, followed by a troop of mercenary foreign soldiers, with the design of restoring that country to the authority of his royal master. Montrose had written a poem containing these lines, characteristic of his own daring soul :

“ He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That dares not put it to the touch
To gain or lose it all.”

The rise of the Independents in England had caused great consternation to the Presbyterian party in Scotland, and the execution of Charles I. had pinched the conscience and wounded the vanity of the Scots, insomuch that many of their considerable men were now intriguing for the succession of the younger Charles to the Crown. Many assurances had secretly been given to Montrose that as soon as he should appear he

would be joined by his old adherents and by many of the nobility who were ostensibly opposing him. Notwithstanding these promises, Argyle, who enjoyed at this time all the power of a dictator, prepared so comprehensively to crush his old enemy, that when Montrose landed in Scotland he found himself compelled to depend almost wholly upon his foreign battalion. The number of his men was small. Nearly a thousand of them had perished by shipwreck on the way over. He was entirely destitute of cavalry, and was thereby prevented from obtaining necessary intelligence of the enemy's movements. The Earl of Sutherland, while marching to join him with fifteen hundred men, was intercepted by Argyle's troops under General David Leslie and Colonel Strachan, and he immediately took service with them.¹ The Covenanters surprised Montrose at Corbiesdale, when he had but six or seven hundred Germans and a few personal friends with him. His situation was entirely hopeless, but with the chivalrous courage which distinguished him as one of the most illustrious of the Cavaliers, he formed his soldiers for battle and fought until a hundred of them were killed and the rest ran away. He himself was taken prisoner, and, after receiving many indignities and oppressions from those who should have treated so eminent a man with the forms of decency, he was publicly hanged (May 21, 1650), his head was suspended on a pole, and his body was ignominiously buried beneath the gibbet.² He was but thirty-eight years old at the time of his death.

While destroying in this cruel manner the man who carried the commission of Charles II. as Lieutenant-General of Scotland, Argyle had formed a compact with Charles himself by which the young King was to be crowned in Scotland. Charles, after demurring for many months, had swallowed his prejudices and subscribed the Covenant with the insincerity and contempt which were characteristic of his family in their political performances. He wrote to the Committee of Estates,

¹ Clarendon, vol. iii., p. 352.

² *Montrose and the Covenanters*, by Mark Napier, London, 1837, two vols., vol. ii., p. 530.

with all the ardour of a Presbyterian: "We have, with you, Religion, the Gospel, and the Covenant, against which Hell shall not prevail, much less a number of sectaries stirred up by it." The Royalists in the three kingdoms were encouraging this alliance as a source of deliverance; Charles finally went to Scotland, and was crowned King; and it was high time that the English Parliament should take alarm. It was now clear that they must either invade Scotland or be invaded by Scotland. They determined upon the former course.

Oliver Cromwell had returned to London on the 31st of May, 1650. He desired Fairfax to lead the army into Scotland, but Fairfax, controlled by his Presbyterian wife, refused to go, and resigned his commission.² Thereupon Cromwell was appointed (June 26th) Captain-General and Commander-in-chief of all the forces raised or to be raised by authority of Parliament within the Commonwealth of England.³

While the Army preparations were going forward, Cromwell one day took Ludlow aside and discoursed to him about public affairs in that enthusiastic manner which led Sir Philip

¹ Thurloe, vol. i., p. 163.

² Fairfax was in some respects a good soldier, but he was woefully out of place in his nominal position of General. He gives this pitiable account of himself: "From the time they [the Army] declared their usurped authority at Triplo Heath, I never gave my free consent to anything they did. But being yet undischarged of my place, they set my name in way of course to all their papers, whether I consented or not: and to such failings are all authorities subject. Under Parliamentary authority many injuries have been done; so here hath a General's power been broken and crumbled into a levelling faction, yet even this, I hope, all impartial judges will interpret as force and ravishment of a good name, rather than a voluntary consent, which might make me equally criminal with that faction. And if, in a multitude of words, much more in a multitude of actions, there must be some transgressions, yet I can truly say, they were never designedly or wilfully committed by me." A Short Memorial, quoted by Harris, *Life of Cromwell*, p. 141. See the interview between Fairfax and Cromwell and the officers, in which they endeavoured to persuade Fairfax to go with the Army to Scotland, in Whitelock, vol. iii., p. 207, who observes: "None of the committee [was] so earnest to persuade the General to continue his commission as Cromwell and the soldiers; yet there was cause enough to believe that they did not overmuch desire it."

³ Whitelock, vol. iii., p. 208.

Warwick to scoff at him as the Inspired Seraphic Independent. In this interview Ludlow notes that Cromwell talked for almost an hour upon the 110th Psalm.¹ It was the General's way of expressing his faith in the Providence of God. It was characteristic of him. It was characteristic of his party. The Psalm is short and reads thus:

"The Lord said unto my Lord : Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool. The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion : rule thou in the midst of thine enemies. Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power ; in the beauties of holiness, from the womb of the morning : Thou hast the dew of thy youth. The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek. The Lord, at thy right hand, shall strike through Kings in the day of his wrath. He shall judge among the Heathen ; he shall fill the places with the dead bodies ; he shall wound the heads over many countries. He shall drink of the brook in the way : therefore shall he lift up the head."

While Cromwell is bustling amid the preparations for a new war, being deprived of the companionship of his family, he writes hastily to obtain the latest word from them. His son Richard,—idle Dick—seems undutiful and neglectful. He has just become a father ; and Oliver writes to Mr. Mayor in these words : is there "hypocrisy," is there "cant" in these private utterances to those who were of his flesh and blood ? Could any man write these wonderful letters and be a hypocrite ?

"For my very loving Brother RICHARD MAYOR, Esquire, at his House at Hursley : These.

"ALNWICK, 17th July, 1650.

"DEAR BROTHER,

"The exceeding crowd of business I had at London is the best excuse I can make for my silence this way. Indeed, Sir, my heart beareth me witness I want no affection to you or yours ; you are all often in my poor prayers.

"I should be glad to hear how the little Brat doth. I could chide both Father and Mother for their neglects of me : I know my Son is idle, but I had better thoughts of Doll [Dorothy]. I doubt now her husband hath spoiled her ; pray tell her so from me. If I had as good leisure as they, I should write sometimes. If my Daughter be breeding, I will excuse her, but not for her nursery ! The Lord bless them. I hope you give my Son good counsel ; I believe he needs it. He is in the dangerous time of his age ; and it's a very vain world. O, how good it is to close with Christ betimes ;—there is nothing else worth the looking after. I

¹ Ludlow, vol. i., p. 319.

beseech you call upon Him. I hope you will discharge my duty and your own love: you see how I am employed. I need pity. I know what I feel. Great place and business in the world is not worth the looking after; I should have no comfort in mine but that my hope is in the Lord's presence. I have not sought these things; truly I have been called unto them by the Lord; and therefore am not without some assurance that He will enable His poor worm and weak servant to do His will, and to fulfil my generation. In this I desire your prayers. Desiring to be lovingly remembered to my dear Sister [Mayor's wife], to our Son and Daughter, to my Cousin Ann and the good Family, I rest, your very affectionate brother,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."¹

Cromwell marched north on the 29th of June, 1650—less than one month since his return from Ireland. His army numbered about sixteen thousand horse and foot.² John Lambert, an officer who had attracted notice by his service at Marston Moor and Naseby, and was now only thirty-one years old, was his Major-General. Charles Fleetwood, afterwards his son-in-law, was General of the Horse. Whalley, his cousin, who had charge of the King's person at the time Charles was permitted to escape from Hampton Court, was Commissary-General. Overton, Pride, and George Monk were among his colonels. His rank and file was composed of the flower of the Ironsides. John Rushworth accompanied him as his secretary.

By the 22d of July the Army had reached Berwick, the northernmost part of England, and crossed the Tweed. It then marched northward along the coast of Scotland to Dunbar, and thence to Musselburgh, a small town but six miles from Edinburgh. In the latter place Leslie was fortified with a strong army, and Cromwell endeavoured to provoke him to fight; but Leslie, wary of the man who had won the victory at Marston Moor after he himself had lost it, would not appear now. A drenching rain and lack of provisions

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 169.

² Wagon-train, 690; horse, 5415; foot, 10,249; total, 16,354 men. The armies of those times were not large in the modern sense. The difficulties of transportation for men and supplies prevented the aggregation of soldiers, as, for instance, in the American rebellion, where there were enlisted under arms on the Union side alone within four years 2,653,062 men. At Marston Moor, the greatest battle of the Cromwell period, there were but 48,000 men on both sides.

compelled Cromwell to draw back his forces, seeing which Leslie attacked his rear, "and indeed," says Oliver, "had like to have engaged our rear brigade of horse with their whole army, had not the Lord by his Providence put a cloud over the moon, thereby giving us opportunity to draw off those horse to the rest of our army." Upon which Leslie withdrew to his trenches. Cromwell writes:

"The Enemy, when we drew off, fell upon our rear; and put them into some little disorder: but our bodies of horse being in some readiness, came to a grapple with them; where indeed there was a gallant and hot dispute; the Major-General and Colonel Whalley being in the rear; and the Enemy drawing out great bodies to second their first affront. Our men charged them up to the very trenches, and beat them in. The Major-General's horse was shot in the neck and head; himself run through the arm with a lance, and run into another place of his body,—was taken prisoner by the Enemy, but rescued immediately by Lieutenant Empson of my regiment. Colonel Whalley, who was then nearest to the Major-General, did charge very resolutely; and repulsed the Enemy, and killed divers of them upon the place, and took some prisoners, without any considerable loss. Which indeed did so amaze and quiet them, that we marched off to Musselburgh, but they dared not send out a man to trouble us. We hear their young King looked on upon all this, but was very ill satisfied to see their men do no better."

Again he says:

"I did not think advisable to attempt upon the Enemy, lying as he doth: but surely this would sufficiently provoke him to fight if he had a mind to. I do not think he is less than six or seven thousand horse, and fourteen or fifteen thousand foot. The reason, I hear, that they give out to their people why they do not fight us, is, Because they expect many bodies of men more out of the North of Scotland; which when they come, they give out they will then engage. But I believe they would rather tempt us to attempt them in their fastness, within which they are entrenched; or else hoping we shall famish for want of provisions;—which is very likely to be, if we be not timely and fully supplied."

Cromwell drew his officers about him and made them a characteristic discourse upon the greatness of the work that was to be performed. He spoke to them "as a Christian and a soldier," and besought them to be doubly and trebly diligent, to be worthy and wary, for sure enough, he said, they had work before them. But had they not had God's blessing hitherto? "Then let us go on faithfully," he cried, "and hope for the like still!" The officers, who believed him to be, indeed, the "Inspired Seraphic Independent," received

his words with acclamations. No man could come in contact with him and escape the magnetic spell of his enthusiasm. Every soldier in his army loved him and was fearless of any foe when he was on the field.

And Cromwell loved a jest. On that same evening of his discourse to the officers, he heard a great shout among the soldiers and looked out of the window. Some of the men had found a Scotch churn filled with rich cream, which they were greedily drinking from their iron hats. One fellow, who seemed afraid he would miss his portion, raised the churn to his mouth and attempted to drink from it; but another merrily pushed it up until it fell over his head, spilling the cream over his clothing, and sticking fast on his head like a great hat. Cromwell laughed heartily at the ludicrous sight.

On another occasion, when Cromwell rode out with a small guard to reconnoitre, a Scottish soldier from a concealed position discharged his carbine at him, but missed his mark. Cromwell called to him that if he had been one of his soldiers he would have cashiered him for firing at such a distance.¹

When he brought his troops before Hume Castle and demanded its surrender, the Governor answered: "I know not Cromwell; and as for my Castle, it is built on a rock." The guns were then turned upon the stronghold, which caused the doughty Governor to write this singular epistle to Cromwell:

" I, William of the Wastle,
Am now in my Castle;
And aw the dogs in the town
Shanna gar me gang down."

But his poetry brought forth such a shower of shot and shell that he soon abated his tone and made a hasty capitulation.²

A "Paper War," the usual accompaniment of those unhappy strifes, then ensued. The Kirk of Scotland violently denounced Cromwell and the Independents through many bitter pamphlets, and Cromwell replied in letters of equal rancour and ability. In one of these papers he said:

¹ Whitelock, vol. iii., p. 232.

² *Ibid.*, p. 252.

"Indeed we are not, through the grace of God, afraid of your numbers, nor confident in ourselves. We could,—I pray God you do not think we boast,—meet your Army, or what you have to bring against us. We have given,—humbly we speak it before our God, in whom all our hope is,—some proof that thoughts of that kind prevail not upon us. The Lord hath not hid His face from us since our approach so near unto you."

And here come strange words from a General to an armed foe :

"Your own guilt is too much for you to bear : bring not therefore upon yourselves the blood of innocent men,—deceived with pretences of King and Covenant; from whose eyes you hide a better knowledge ! I am persuaded that divers of you, who lead the People, have laboured to build yourselves in these things ; wherein you have censured others, and established yourselves 'upon the Word of God.' Is it therefore infallibly agreeable to the Word of God, all that you say ? I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken. Precept may be upon precept, line may be upon line, and yet the Word of the Lord may be to some a Word of Judgment ; that they may fall backwards, and be broken, and be snared and be taken ! There may be a spiritual fulness, which the World may call drunkenness ; as in the second Chapter of Acts. There may be, as well, a carnal confidence upon misunderstood and misapplied precepts, which may be called spiritual drunkenness. There may be a Covenant made with Death and Hell ! I will not say yours was so. But judge if such things have a politic aim : To avoid the overflowing scourge ; or, To accomplish worldly interests ? And if therein we have confederated with wicked and carnal men, and have respect for them, or otherwise have drawn them in to associate with us, Whether this be a Covenant of God, and spiritual ? Bethink yourselves ; we hope we do.

"I pray you read the Twenty-eighth of Isaiah, from the fifth to the fifteenth verse. And do not scorn to know that it is the Spirit that quickens and giveth life.

"The Lord give you and us understanding to do that which is well-pleasing in His sight. Committing you to the grace of God, I rest, your humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." ¹

Here is the passage from Isaiah :

"In that day shall the Lord of Hosts be for a crown of glory, and for a diadem of beauty, unto the residue of His people. And for a spirit of judgment to him that sitteth in judgment, and for strength to them that turn the battle to the gate. But they also have erred through wine, and through strong drink are out of the way ! The Priest and the Prophet have erred through strong drink ; they are swallowed up of wine ; they are out of the way through strong drink. They err in vision, they stumble in judgment. For all tables are full of vomit and filthiness ; so that there is no place clean. Whom shall he teach knowledge ? Whom

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 177.

shall he make to understand doctrine ? Them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts. For precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept ; line upon line, line upon line ; here a little and there a little. For with stammering lips and another tongue will He speak to this people. To whom He said, This is the rest wherewith ye may cause the weary to rest, and this is the refreshment ;—yet they would not hear. But the Word of the Lord was unto them precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little, That they might go, and fall backward, and be broken and snared and taken !—Wherefore hear ye the Word of the Lord, ye scornful men that rule this people which is in Jerusalem !”

We assume that honest David Leslie, the Scottish General, cherished but little real sympathy for the casuistries under which the Kirk theologians were endeavouring to reconcile austere Presbyterianism with the profligate branch of the Episcopalian party that was represented by the young King Charles. But Leslie, in a very brief letter, and with no relish for the business, forwarded to Cromwell, by command of the General Assembly, a Declaration, “ wherein we are resolved,” said Leslie, “ by the Lord’s assistance, to fight your army when the Lord shall be pleased to call us thereunto.” Unhappy Leslie ! Upon him and upon his party Cromwell straightway pours out the vials of his wrath. He writes :

“ But that under the pretence of the Covenant mistaken and wrested from the most native intent and equity thereof a King should be taken in by you, to be imposed upon us ; and this [be] called ‘ the Cause of God and the Kingdom ;’ and this done upon ‘ the satisfaction of God’s People in both Nations,’ as is alleged,—together with a disowning of Malignants ; although he [Charles Stuart] who is the head of them, in whom all their hope and comfort lies, be received ; who, at this very instant, hath a Popish Army fighting for and under him in Ireland ; hath Prince Rupert, a man who hath had his hand deep in the blood of many innocent men of England, now in the head of our Ships, stolen from us upon a Malignant account ; hath the French and Irish ships daily making depredations on our coasts ; and strong combinations by the Malignants in England, to raise Armies in our bowels, by virtue of his commissions, who hath of late issued out very many to that purpose :—How the [Godly] Interest you pretend to have received him upon, and the Malignant Interests in their ends and consequences [all] centring in this man, can be secured, we cannot discern ! And how we should believe, that whilst known and notorious Malignants are fighting and plotting against us on the one hand, and you are declaring for him on the other, it should not be an ‘ espousing of a Malignant Party’s Quarrel or Interest ;’ but be a mere ‘ fighting upon former grounds and principles, and in defence of the Cause of God and the Kingdoms, as hath been these twelve years last past,’ as you say : how this should be ‘ for the se-

curity and satisfaction of God's People in both Nations ;' or [how] the opposing of this should render us enemies to the Godly with you, we cannot well understand. Especially considering that all these Malignants take their confidence and encouragement from the late transactions of your Kirk and State with your King. For as we have already said, so we tell you again, It is but [some] satisfying security to those who employ us and [who] are concerned, that we seek. Which we conceive will not be by a few formal and feigned Submissions, from a Person [*i.e.* Charles II.] that could not tell otherwise how to accomplish his Malignant ends, and [is] therefore counselled to this compliance, by them who assisted his Father, and have hitherto actuated himself in his most evil and desperate designs ; designs which are now again by them set on foot. Against which, How you will be able, in the way you are in, to secure us or yourselves ?—[this it now] is (forasmuch as concerns ourselves) our duty to look after.

"If the state of your Quarrel be thus, upon which, as you say, you resolve to fight our Army, you will have opportunity to do that ; else what means our abode here ? And if our hope be not in the Lord, it will be ill with us. We commit both you and ourselves to Him who knows the heart and tries the reins ; with whom are all our ways ; who is able to do for us and you above what we know : Which we desire may be in much mercy to His poor People, and to the glory of His great Name."

One evening (July 28th) Cromwell placed his army within a mile of Edinburgh, "so tired and wearied for want of sleep," said Cromwell, "and so dirty by reason of the wetness of the weather, that we expected the enemy would make an infall upon us." Whereupon Leslie endeavoured to insert his troops between the Lord General and his supplies. At dawn of the next morning Cromwell perceived the dangerous situation. There were hasty marchings by both armies and a severe skirmish, but the English succeeded in regaining their quarters at Musselburgh. It became clear by this time that it was Leslie's policy to remain in safety behind the walls of Edinburgh, and to tire out the strength and patience of his enemy. It was a wise design. Cromwell could not conveniently unload his provisions at Musselburgh, his men were falling sick, and, after exhausting every expedient to provoke an engagement, he was forced to retreat to Dunbar where there was a fine harbour and he could fortify himself for the winter and wait a chance for battle.

Dunbar is situated about thirty miles north-east of Edinburgh on high ground on the rockbound coast. The town is on a sort

of peninsula, about a mile and a half across its breast from sea to sea; and to landward of it are huge hills which are impassable except by one road. As Oliver, with an uncomfortable sense of being in full retreat, passed through these hills, Leslie, leading an army of twenty-three thousand men, followed him and blocked up the passes. On one side of the Parliamentary host was the sea, on the other side a range of unscalable hills and a hostile army. The ground on which they had set their tents was marked with splashes of water and rough bent grass. It was no suitable place for a fight. The Roundheads were in a trap.

For the first time in his life Cromwell was in despair;—"being sensible of our disadvantages," he wrote, "and having some weakness of the flesh." His men now numbered scarce eleven thousand, and they were all conscious of the grave peril of their situation. Cromwell, standing for the first time in the presence of palpable defeat, wrote the following letter to Sir Arthur Hazelrig, plainly intimating his expectation of the annihilation of his command.

"To the Honourable SIR ARTHUR HAZELRIG, at Newcastle or elsewhere: These. Haste, haste.

"DUNBAR, 2d September, 1650.

"DEAR SIR:

"We are upon an Engagement very difficult. The Enemy hath blocked-up our way at the pass at Copperspath, through which we cannot get without almost a miracle. He lieth so much upon the Hills that we know not how to come that way without great difficulty; and our lying here daily consumeth our men, who fall sick beyond imagination.

"I perceive, your forces are not in a capacity for present release. Wherefore, whatever becomes of us, it will be well for you to get what forces you can together, and the South to help what they can. The business nearly concerneth all Good People. If your forces had been in a readiness to have fallen upon the back of Copperspath, it might have occasioned supplies to have come to us. But the only wise God knows what is best. All shall work for Good. Our spirits are comfortable, praised be the Lord,—though our present condition be as it is. And indeed we have much hope in the Lord; of whose mercy we have had large experience.

"Indeed, do you get together what forces you can against them. Send to friends in the South to help with more. Let H. Vane know what I write. I would not

make it public, lest danger should accrue thereby. You know what use to make hereof. Let me hear from you. I rest, your servant,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”

“P. S. It’s difficult for me to send to you. Let me hear from you after you receive this.”¹

His position was indeed very similar to that of Essex in 1644, when he surrendered his army to Charles on the Cornwall promontory. But before Cromwell had despatched his letter to Hazelrig, Leslie brought his troops down to the foot of the hills and placed them in such a position that the practised eye of the Puritan leader joyfully discerned that there was still a chance for victory. He called quickly to Lambert and Monk, who likewise perceived the error of the Scottish formation.

Between the two armies a wide and deep brook ran. Far on the left of Cromwell’s men there was a ford except at which the stream was impassable. Leslie placed his foot near this ford and then surrounded them with his horse, concentrating the full strength of his army on this right wing. Cromwell believed that if he could but pass over the ford he would be able to strike such a blow on the foot soldiers as would force them back upon their own horse and throw the whole into confusion. To cross the ford first would be a point of vantage. With the armies in these postures the night fell.

An English soldier, who strayed too near this ford, was captured and taken before General Leslie. “Soldier,” asked the General, “how will you fight, when you have shipped half of your men, and all your great guns?” “Sir,” replied the Roundhead, “if you please to draw down your men, you shall find both men and great guns too!” An officer demanded how he dare answer the General so saucily. “Sir,” he said, “I only answer the question put to me.” Leslie set him at liberty, and he returned across the brook to Cromwell, complaining that he had been plundered of twenty shillings, which Cromwell made good to him from his own pocket.

Early on the morning of Tuesday, September 3d, soon after three o’clock, the English were astir. The Lord General had

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 188.

explained his plan, and selected Lambert, Fleetwood, Whalley, and Monk to lead the charge. It was indeed victory or destruction. Lambert was slow to leave his tent, and Cromwell chafed at the delay. But by four o'clock the Ironsides were at the ford,—were passing over. "They were actuated," said Cromwell, "with as much courage as ever hath been seen in any action since this war." There was a loud alarm in the Scottish camp. Their bugles called their men to arms. Before they were well aware of it the English were upon them. The Roundhead horse were bravely met by the Scottish foot. Leslie's men had hardly time to light their gun-matches. They were forced to use sword and pike. Oliver's foot came across the stream and were bravely repulsed. Whalley's horse was killed under him, but he quickly mounted another. They charged again, and the fight raged for nearly an hour. The Scottish horse attempted an onset, but were so fairly in the rear of their own infantry that they could make little headway. "The Covenant, the Covenant!" cried the Scots, now beginning to give ground. "The Lord of Hosts!" answered the English, "The Lord of Hosts!" Just then the tardy sun rose far out in the distant ocean. Oliver saw it. "Let God arise!" he shouted; "Let his enemies be scattered!" Old Noll, as the soldiers loved to call him, was in the heat of the battle, directing every movement of his men. "They run! I profess they run!" he cried. They were indeed beginning to yield. The words of the 117th Psalm sprang from the lips of the enthusiastic conqueror; to his warring hosts it sounded like a hymn of battle. "O! praise the Lord, all ye nations; praise him, all ye people!" he cried. "For his merciful kindness is great towards us; and the truth of the Lord endureth forever. Praise ye the Lord!" The troops caught the psalm from his lips and repeated it. He pressed to the front; once more the Roundheads charged—and won. The pursuit and slaughter were kept up for eight miles. Three thousand Scots were slain. Ten thousand of them were taken prisoners. All their artillery, ammunition, colors, and stores, and fifteen thousand arms, were captured. Leslie was foremost in the flight,—he

got to Edinburgh, thirty miles away, by nine o'clock that morning. The power of the Scots was crushed. The young King, who, before the Scots would fight for him, had been forced to sign a disgraceful declaration acknowledging that his late father had been justly punished for his sins, fled in terror to the Highlands. The English had won their victory by their gallant and invincible charge; they lost not over a score of men in the battle.¹

On the day after this victory Oliver wrote to his wife this touching letter:

"For my beloved Wife ELIZABETH CROMWELL, at the Cockpit: These.

"DUNBAR, 4th September, 1650.

"MY DEAREST,

"I have not leisure to write much. But I could chide Thee that in many of thy Letters thou writest to me, That I should not be unmindful of thee and thy little ones. Truly, if I love you not too well, I think I err not on the other hand much. Thou art dearer to me than any creature; let that suffice.

"The Lord hath showed us an exceeding mercy:—who can tell how great it is! My weak faith hath been upheld. I have been in my inward man marvellously supported;—though I assure thee, I grow an old man, and feel infirmities of age marvellously stealing upon me. [He was now 51 years old.] Would my corruptions as fast decrease! Pray on my behalf in the latter respect.

"The particulars of our late success Harry Vane or Gilbert Pickering will impart to thee. My love to all dear friends. I rest thine,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."²

He appears unable to express his joy and thankfulness in the victory too fervently. Writing to Richard Cromwell's father-in-law, he says:

"I desire my love may be presented to my dear sister [Mayor's wife], and to all your family. I pray tell Doll I do not forget her nor her little Brat. She writes very cunningly and complementally to me; I expect a letter of plain dealing from her. She is too modest to tell me whether she breeds or not. I wish a blessing upon her and her husband. The Lord make them fruitful in all that's good. They are at leisure to write often;—but indeed they are both idle and worthy of blame."

He seemed to yearn for frequent letters from his family,—and they seemed to write all too infrequently.

¹ Carlyle, vol. ii., p. 186; Cromwell's account, Carlyle, vol. ii., p. 196.

² *Letters and Speeches*, Letter cxliii.

The same day he wrote to Ireton, who was winning rapid victories in Ireland, and was soon to die there :

"We have been engaged upon a service the fullest of trial ever poor creatures were upon. We made great professions of love; knowing we were to deal with many who were Godly, and [who] pretended to be stumbled at our Invasion :—indeed, our bowels were pierced again and again; the Lord helped us to sweet words, and in sincerity to mean them. We were rejected again and again; yet still we begged to be believed that we loved them as our own souls; they often returned evil for good. We prayed for security : [against young Charles Stuart's designs.] they would not hear or answer a word to that. We made often appeals to God; they appealed also. We were near engagements three or four times, but they lay upon advantages. A heavy flux fell upon our Army; brought it very low, —from Fourteen to Eleven thousand: Three-thousand five-hundred horse, and Seven-thousand five-hundred foot. The enemy Sixteen-thousand foot, and Six-thousand horse."

After writing to the Parliament a full account of his operations in Scotland up to this time, he spoke in these eloquent terms of the duties of the hour. He believed that the promise "The saints shall possess the earth" was in course of fulfilment, and his words sound like those of the ancient Prophets, with whom, indeed, he felt his spirit to be in kindred intercourse :

"Thus you have the prospect of one of the most signal mercies God hath done for England and His People, this War :—and now may it please you to give me the leave of a few words. It is easy to say, The Lord hath done this. It would do you good to see and hear our poor foot to go up and down making their boast of God. But, Sir, it's in your hands, and by these imminent mercies God puts it more into your hands, To give glory to Him; to improve your power, and His blessings, to His praise. We that serve you beg of you not to own us,—but God alone. We pray you own His people more and more; for they are the chariots and horsemen of Israel. Disown yourselves;—but own your Authority; and improve it to curb the proud and the insolent, such as would disturb the tranquillity of England, though under what specious pretences soever. Relieve the oppressed, hear the groans of poor prisoners in England. Be pleased to reform the abuses of all professions :—and if there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not the Commonwealth. If He that strengthens your servants to fight, please to give you hearts to set upon these things, in order to His glory, and the glory of your Commonwealth,—[then] besides the benefit England shall feel thereby, you shall shine forth to other Nations, who shall emulate the glory of such a pattern, and through the power of God turn-in to the like !

"These are our desires. And that you may have liberty and opportunity to do these things, and not to be hindered, we have been and shall be (by God's assist-

ance) willing to venture our lives ;—and [will] not desire you should be precipitated by importunities, from your care of safety and preservation ; but that the doing of these things may have their place amongst those which concern well-being, and so be wrought in their time and order.

“ Since we came in Scotland, it hath been our desire and longing to have avoided blood in this business ; by reason that God hath a people here fearing His name, though deceived. And to that end have we offered much love unto such, in the bowels of Christ ; and concerning the truth of our hearts therein, have we appealed unto the Lord. The Ministers of Scotland have hindered the passage of these things to the hearts of those to whom we intended them. And now we hear, that not only the deceived people, but some of the Ministers are also fallen in this Battle. This is the great hand of the Lord, and worthy of the consideration of all those who take into their hands the instruments of a foolish shepherd,—to wit, meddling with worldly policies, and mixtures of earthly power, to set up that which they call the Kingdom of Christ, which is neither it, nor, if it were it, would such means be found effectual to that end,—and neglect, or trust not to, the Word of God, the Sword of the Spirit ; which is alone powerful and able for the setting up of that Kingdom ; and, when trusted to, will be found effectually able to that end, and will also do it ! This is humbly offered for their sakes who have lately too much turned aside : that they might return again to preach Jesus Christ, according to the simplicity of the Gospel ;—and then no doubt they will discern and find your protection and encouragement. Beseeching you to pardon this length, I humbly take leave ; and rest, Sir, your most obedient servant,

“ OLIVER CROMWELL.”¹

Cromwell marched back to Edinburgh,—in triumph entered the city this time, and began another “ Paper War ” with the preachers who were shut up in the Castle far above him. In this controversy he drives home the fact that they have departed from the Puritan fold by their resumption of the Stuart allegiance. He said :

“ And although they [the Scottish Ministers] seem to comfort themselves with being sons of Jacob, from whom (they say) God hath hid His face for a time ; yet it ’s no wonder when the Lord hath lifted up His hand so eminently against a Family as He hath done so often against this [the Stuart Family], and men will not see His hand,—it ’s no wonder if the Lord hide His face from such ; putting them to shame both for it and their hatred of His people, as it is this day. When they purely trust to the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, which is powerful to bring down strongholds and every imagination that exalts itself,—which alone is able to square and fit the stones for the new Jerusalem ;—then and not before, and by that means and no other, shall Jerusalem, the City of the Lord, which is to be the praise of the whole Earth, be built ; the Sion of the Holy One of Israel.”

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 196.

The Scottish pamphleteers had said some harsh things about the late King's execution, which stirred Cromwell to speak his mind boldly as to that, and the new government in England :

" Now if the Civil Authority, or that part of it which continued faithful to their trust, [an allusion to Pride's Purge] and true to the ends of the Covenant, did, in answer to their consciences, turn-out a Tyrant, in a way which the Christians in after times will mention with honour, and all Tyrants in the world look at with fear; and [if] while many thousands of saints in England rejoice to think of it, and have received from the hand of God a liberty from the fear of like usurpations, and have cast-off him [young Charles Stuart] who trod in his Father's steps, doing mischief as far as he was able (whom you have received like fire into your bosom,—of which God will, I trust, in time make you sensible): if, I say, Ministers railing at the Civil Power, and calling them murderers and the like for doing these things, have been dealt with as you mention,—will this be found a 'personal persecution?' Or is sin so, because they say so? They that acted this great business [the King's Execution] have given a reason of their faith in the action; and some here are ready farther to do it against all gainsayers."

When the Scottish ministers attempted to reprove the English Puritans, and made themselves "the judges and determiners of sin," Cromwell said :

" This [method of censure] was not practised by the church since our Saviour's time, till Antichrist, assuming the Infallible Chair, and all that he called Church to be under him, practised this authoritatively over civil governors. The way to fulfill your ministry with joy is to preach the Gospel; which I wish some who take pleasure in reproofs at a venture, do not forget too much to do."

In the midst of his solemn polemics he strikes out some wise truths of public policy :

" Indeed, you err through mistaking of the Scriptures. Approbation is an act of convenience in respect of order; not of necessity, to give faculty to preach the Gospel. Your pretended fear lest Error should step in, is like the man who would keep all the wine out of the country lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy, to deprive a man of his natural liberty upon a supposition he may abuse it. When he doth abuse it, judge. If a man speak foolishly, ye suffer him gladly because ye are wise; if erroneously, the truth more appears by your conviction [of him.] Stop such a man's mouth by sound words which cannot be gainsayed. If he speak blasphemously, or to the disturbance of the public peace, let the Civil Magistrate punish him: if truly, rejoice in the truth. And if you will call our speakings together since we came into Scotland,—to provoke one another to love and good works, to faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and

repentance from dead works ; [and] to charity and love towards you, to pray and mourn for you, and for your bitter returns to our love of you, and your incredulity of our professions of love to you, of the truth of which we have made our solemn and humble appeals to the Lord our God, which He hath heard and borne witness to : if you will call [these] things scandalous to the Kirk, and against the Covenant, because done by men of Civil callings,—we rejoice in them, notwithstanding what you say."

It must be repeated, Cromwell was not a man of blood. He had treated the Scottish people with great leniency, and he vainly hoped by the power of his pen to convert them to his own Independent theology, rather than to compel their obedience to England by military conquest. He wrote to the Council of State :

"I am in great hopes, through God's mercy, we shall be able this Winter to give the People such an understanding of the justness of our Cause, and our desires for the just liberties of the People, that the better sort of them will be satisfied therewith ; although, I must confess, hitherto they continue obstinate. I thought I should have found in Scotland a conscientious People, and a barren country : about Edinburgh, it is as fertile for corn as any part of England ; but the People generally [are so] given to the most impudent lying and frequent swearing, as is incredible to be believed."

On the 24th of December the great castle was surrendered to him, together with a store of ordnance more vast than could be found in any other stronghold in Scotland.

The praying quality of Cromwell's godly men and his high appreciation of piety in the Army, are shown in a letter which the Lord General wrote to Colonel Hacker, refusing to appoint one Captain Hubbert to a place then held by Captain Empson :

"I pray let Captain Hubbert know I shall not be unmindful of him, and that no disrespect is intended to him. But indeed I was not satisfied with your last speech to me about Empson, That he was a better preacher than fighter or soldier,—or words to that effect. Truly I think he that prays and preaches best will fight best. I know nothing [that] will give like courage and confidence as the knowledge of God and Christ will ; and I bless God to see any in this Army able and willing to impart the knowledge they have, for the good of others. And I expect it to be encouraged, by all the Chief Officers in this Army especially ; and I hope you will do so. I pray receive Captain Empson lovingly ; I dare assure you he is a good man and a good officer ; I would we had no worse."

His wife at London is proud of his career and writes him (December 27th) intimating that it will advance his interest if he write occasionally to Oliver St. John, now Lord Chief Justice, and to John Bradshaw, now President of the Council of State.¹ Letters also came from London informing him of his appointment as Chancellor of the University of Oxford,—a compliment which pleased him much, and called forth this letter :

“To the Reverend DR. GREENWOOD, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and other Members of the Convocation.

“EDINBURGH, 4th Feb., 1650.

“HONOURED GENTLEMEN :

“I have received by the hands of those worthy Persons of your University sent by you into Scotland, a Testimony of very high respect and honour, in [your] choosing me to be your Chancellor. Which deserves a fuller return, of deep resentment,² value and acknowledgement, than I am any ways able to make. Only give me a little to expostulate, on your and my own behalf. I confess it was in your freedom to elect, and it would be very uningenuous in me to reflect upon your action ; only (though somewhat late) let me advise you of my unfitness to answer the ends of so great a Service and Obligation, with some things very obvious.

“I suppose a principal aim in such elections hath not only respected abilities and interest to serve you, but freedom [as] to opportunities of time and place. As the first may not be well supposed, so the want of the latter may well become me to represent to you. You know where Providence hath placed me for the present ; and to what I am related if this call were off [Lord Lieutenant of Ireland], I being tied to attendance in another Land as much out of the way of serving you as this, for some certain time yet to come appointed by the Parliament. The known esteem and honour of this place is such, that I should wrong it and your favour very much, and your freedom in choosing me, if, either by pretended modesty or in any unbenign way, I should dispute the acceptance of it. Only I hope it will not be imputed to me as a neglect towards you, that I cannot serve you in the measure I desire.

“I offer these exceptions with all the candour and clearness to you, as [leaving you] most free to mend your choice in case you think them reasonable ; and shall not reckon myself the less obliged to do all good offices for the University. But if these prevail not, and that I must continue this honour,—until I can personally serve you, you shall not want my prayers That that seed and stock of Piety and Learning, so marvellously springing up amongst you, may be useful to that great and glorious Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ ; of the approach of which so

¹ Her letter is printed on p. II.

² This word, in its old sense, as used by Cromwell, means appreciation.

plentiful an effusion of the Spirit upon those hopeful plants is one of the best presages. And in all other things I shall, by the Divine assistance, improve my poor abilities and interests in manifesting myself, to the University and yourselves, your most cordial friend and servant,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”¹

In February, 1651, he was stricken down by a dangerous sickness,—the “infirmities of age” were indeed stealing upon him. His friends in England, including the Parliament and the Council of State, were greatly alarmed. But he recovered his strength and health, and wrote this letter to Bradshaw:

“Indeed, my Lord, your service needs not me; I am a poor creature; and have been a dry bone; and am still an unprofitable servant to my Master and you. I thought I should have died of this fit of sickness; but the Lord seemeth to dispose otherwise. But truly, my Lord, I desire not to live, unless I may obtain mercy from the Lord to approve my heart and life to Him in more faithfulness and thankfulness, and [to] those I serve in more profitableness and diligence. And I pray God, your Lordship, and all in public trust, may improve all those unparalleled experiences of the Lord’s wonderful workings in your sight, with singleness of heart to His glory, and the refreshment of His People; who are to Him as the apple of His eye; and upon whom your enemies, both former and latter, who have fallen before you, did split themselves.”

At the same period he wrote to his wife; wrote often to her doubtless, but too few of his family letters have been preserved. Those that do exist are profoundly attractive, illuminating as they do the secret soul of Cromwell. Of the persons referred to, “Betty” and “him” are his daughter Elizabeth and Claypole, her husband; “the Lord Herbert” is Henry Somerset, eldest son of the Marquis of Worcester, a Protestant only because the times made it expedient to be one, and therefore to be avoided:

“For my beloved Wife ELIZABETH CROMWELL, at the Cockpit: These.

“EDINBURGH, 12th April, 1651.

“MY DEAREST:

“I praise the Lord I am increased in strength in my outward man. But that will not satisfy me except I get a heart to love and serve my heavenly Father better; and I get more of the light of His countenance, which is better than life, and more power over my corruptions:—in these hopes I wait, and am not without

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 265.

expectation of a gracious return. Pray for me ; truly I do daily for thee and the dear Family ; and God Almighty bless you with all His spiritual blessings.

"Mind poor Betty of the Lord's great mercy. Oh, I desire her not only to seek the Lord in her necessity, but in deed and in truth to turn to the Lord ; and to keep close to Him ; and to take heed of a departing heart, and of being cozened with worldly vanities and worldly company, which I doubt she is too subject to. I earnestly and frequently pray for her and for him. Truly they are dear to me, very dear ; and I am in fear lest Satan should deceive them,—knowing how weak our hearts are, and how subtle the adversary is, and what way the deceitfulness of our hearts and the vain world make for his temptations. The Lord give them truth of heart to Him. Let them seek Him in truth, and they shall find Him.

"My love to the dear little ones ; I pray for grace for them. I thank them for their letters ; let me have them often.

"Beware of my Lord Herbert's resort to your house. If he do so, it may occasion scandal, as if I were bargaining with him. Indeed, be wise,—you know my meaning. Mind Sir Henry Vane of the business of my estate. Mr. Floyd knows my whole mind in that matter.

"If Dick Cromwell and his Wife be with you, my dear love to them. I pray for them : they shall, God willing, hear from me. I love them very dearly. Truly I am not able as yet to write much. I am very weary ; and rest, thine,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."¹

And here is another, the last that we have from this husband to his wife :

"For my beloved Wife ELIZABETH CROMWELL, at the Cockpit : These.

"EDINBURGH, 3d May, 1651.

"MY DEAREST :

"I could not satisfy myself to omit this post, although I have not much to write ; yet indeed I love to write to my Dear, who is very much in my heart. It joys me to hear thy soul prospereth : the Lord increase His favours to thee more and more. The great good thy soul can wish is, That the Lord lift upon thee the light of His countenance, which is better than life. The Lord bless all thy good counsel and example to all those about thee, and hear all thy prayers, and accept thee always.

"I am glad to hear thy Son and Daughter are with thee. I hope thou wilt have some good opportunity of good advice to him. Present my duty to my Mother, my love to all the Family. Still pray for thine,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

Some of the good people of Durham had petitioned the Parliament to convert "the houses of the late Dean and Chapter," in the city of Durham into a college or school of literature,

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 273.

but the matter had slumbered while more active affairs flourished. It is evidence of the common respect that was held for Cromwell's liberal mind that those who were pushing the college establishment now made a perilous midwinter journey to Edinburgh to secure his co-operation in the scheme. He entered into the project with hearty accord, and wrote to Speaker Lenthall in these terms :

" Truly it seems to me a matter of great concernment and importance ; as that which, by the blessing of God, may such conduce to the promoting of learning and piety in those poor rude and ignorant parts ; there being also many concurring advantages to this Place, as pleasantness and aptness of situation, healthful air and plenty of provisions, which seem to favour and plead for their desires therein. And besides the good, so obvious to us, [which] those Northern Counties may reap thereby, who knows but the setting on foot this work at this time may suit with God's present dispensations ; and may—if due care and circumspection be used in the right constituting and carrying-on the same—tend to, and by the blessing of God produce, such happy and glorious fruits as are scarce thought on or foreseen."

Upon the receipt of his letter there was some further debate concerning the school, but it was put aside until seven years later, when, in the fulness of his own power, he erected a seat of learning at Durham with considerate generosity to its necessities.

He marched near to Stirling, where Charles II. and the remnant of the Scottish Army were in winter quarters, but finding them too strongly fortified, and the weather terribly severe, he returned to Edinburgh and passed the winter there. In April he marched west and entered Glasgow where his Army spent ten days. He was again thrown into a violent sickness—the third attack this winter. The disease was an ague ; and the Council of State was instructed by the Parliament to request him to return to England for milder air. Two physicians were sent from London to see him. But he was undaunted in the face of sickness, and wrote thus hopefully :

" I shall not need to recite the extremity of my last sickness : it was so violent that indeed my nature was not able to bear the weight thereof. But the Lord was pleased to deliver me, beyond expectation ; and to give me cause to say once more : ' He hath plucked me out of my grave ! ' My Lord, the indulgence of the Parlia-

ment expressed by their Order is a very high and undeserved favour: of which although it be fit I keep a thankful remembrance, yet I judge it would be too much presumption in me to return a particular acknowledgement. I beseech you give me the boldness to return my humble thankfulness to the Council for sending two such worthy persons, so great a journey, to visit me. From whom I have received much encouragement, and good directions for recovery of health and strength, which I find [now] by the goodness of God, growing to such a state as may yet, if it be His good will, render me useful according to my poor ability, in the situation wherein He hath set me."

In approaching Glasgow, Lambert, commanding the advance guard, encountered a considerable force of Scots and fought them, slaying two thousand and taking nearly six hundred prisoners.

Hear the words of the great Puritan in closing his account of their victory:

"This is an unspeakable mercy. I trust the Lord will follow it until He hath perfected peace and truth. We can truly say we were gone as far as we could in our counsel and action and we did say one to another, we knew not what to do. Wherefore, it's sealed upon our hearts, that this, as all the rest, is from the Lord's goodness, and not from man. I hope it becometh me to pray, That we may walk humbly and selfdenyingly before the Lord, and believingly also. That you whom we serve, as the authority over us, may do the work committed to you, with uprightness and faithfulness, and thoroughly, as to the Lord. That you may not suffer anything to remain that offends the eyes of His jealousy. That common weal may more and more be sought, and justice done impartially. For the eyes of the Lord run to and fro; and as He finds out His enemies here, to be avenged on them, so will He not spare them for whom He doth good, if by His loving kindness they become not good. I shall take the humble boldness to represent this Engagement of David's, in the Hundred-and-nineteenth Psalm, verse Hundred-and-thirty-fourth, 'Deliver me from the oppression of man, so will I keep Thy precepts.'"¹

How often and how quickly his history turns from the soldier to the man! On one day he writes of a battle in which the destinies of his country hang upon his sword. On the next the welfare of a human soul stirs him to the deepest emotion. Richard Cromwell—Idle Dick—is still a most despicably lazy and vain young man. Cromwell's sorrow is intense, and he sternly rebukes the young man's shiftless course in this painful letter to Mr. Mayor:

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 284.

"To my very loving Brother RICHARD MAYOR, ESQUIRE, at Hursley : These.

"BURNTISLAND, 28th July, 1651.

"DEAR BROTHER :

"I was glad to receive a letter from you ; for, indeed, anything that comes from you is very welcome to me. I believe your expectation of my Son's coming is deferred. I wish he may see a happy delivery of his wife first, for whom I frequently pray.

"I hear my son hath exceeded his allowance, and is in debt. Truly I cannot commend him therein ; wisdom requiring his living within compass, and calling for it at his hands. And in my judgment, the reputation arising from thence would have been more real honour than what is attained the other way. I believe vain men will speak well of him that does ill.

"I desire to be understood that I grudge him not laudable recreations, nor an honourable carriage of himself in them ; nor is any matter of charge, like to fall to my share, a stick with me. Truly I can find in my heart to allow him not only a sufficiency but more, for his good. But if pleasure and self-satisfaction be made the business of a man's life, [and] so much cost laid out upon it, so much time spent in it, as rather answers appetite than the will of God, or is comely before His Saints,—I scruple to feed this humour ; and God forbid that his being my Son should be his allowance to live not pleasingly to our Heavenly Father, who hath raised me out of the dust to be what I am !

"I desire your faithfulness (he being also your concernment as well as mine) to advise him to approve himself to the Lord in his course of life ; and to search His statutes for a rule of conscience and to seek grace from Christ to enable him to walk therein. This hath life in it, and will come to somewhat ; what is a poor creature without this ? This will not abridge of lawful pleasures ; but teach such a use of them as will have the peace of a good conscience going along with it. Sir, I write what is in my heart ; I pray you communicate my mind herein to my Son, and be his remembrancer in these things. Truly I love him, he is dear to me ; so is his wife ; and for their sakes do I thus write. They shall not want comfort nor encouragement from me, so far as I may afford it. But, indeed, I cannot think I do well to feed a voluptuous humour in my Son, if he should make pleasures the business of his life,—in a time when some precious Saints are bleeding and breathing out their last, for the safety of the rest. Memorable is the speech of Uriah to David (Second Samuel, xi., 11).¹

"Sir, I beseech you, believe I here say not this to save my purse, for I shall willingly do what is convenient to satisfy his occasions as I have opportunity. But as I pray he may not walk in a course not pleasing to the Lord, so I think it lieth upon me to give him, in love, the best counsel I may ; and know not how better to convey it to him than by so good a hand as yours. Sir, I pray you, acquaint him with these thoughts of mine, and remember my love to my Daughter, for whose sake I

¹"And Uriah said unto David, The Ark, and Israel, and Judah abide in tents ; and my lord Joab, and the servants of my lord, are encamped in the open fields ; shall I, then, go into mine house, to eat and to drink, and to lie with my wife ? As thou livest, and as thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing."

shall be induced to do any reasonable thing. I pray for her happy deliverance, frequently and earnestly.

"I am sorry to hear that my Bailiff in Hantsire should do to my Son as is intimated by your letter. I assure you I shall not allow any such thing. If there be any suspicion of his abuse of the Wood, I desire it may be looked after, and inquired into; that so, if things appear true, he may be removed,—although, indeed, I must needs say he had the repute of a godly man, by divers that knew him, when I placed him there.

"Sir, I desire my hearty affection may be presented to my Sister; to my Cousin Ann, and her Husband, though unknown. I praise the Lord I have obtained much mercy in respect of my health; the Lord give me a truly thankful heart. I desire your prayers; and rest, your very affectionate brother and servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL." ¹

After returning to Edinburgh, Cromwell marched north to make a final attempt on Perth, to dislodge the young King, and end the war. So well were his plans conceived that by August 1st he had placed his Army in Fife, so as to cut off the Scots from their base of supplies, and he now expected to force them to come out of Perth and fight.

But young Charles Stuart, prompted by that spirit of romantic bravery which distinguished his unfortunate house, immediately adopted a brilliant expedient which surprised and temporarily baffled the astute Cromwell, and filled every Puritan breast in England with alarm. In a moment of supreme self-assertion he snatched the command of the Scottish troops away from the Committee of Preachers who had hitherto held full authority, and passed to the west and south of Cromwell's position, and, by a swift march, invaded England (August 6, 1651) with an army of fourteen thousand men. It was his expectation that all who were discontented with the present government would flock to his standard, and that he would soon be enabled to assume the Crown of his fathers in all its ancient splendour and authority.

Cromwell was deeply mortified by the stratagem that had been played upon him, but he prepared to dispel this new peril with all his energy and skill.

He wrote to the Speaker:

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 289.

“I do apprehend, that if he [Charles II.] goes for England, being some few days march before us, it will trouble some men’s thoughts; and may occasion some inconveniences; which we hope we are as deeply sensible of, and have been, and I trust shall be, as diligent to prevent, as any. And indeed this is our comfort, that in simplicity of heart as towards God, we have done to the best of our judgments; knowing that if some issue were not put to this Business, it would occasion another Winter’s war: to the ruin of your soldiery, for whom the Scots are too hard in respect of enduring the Winter difficulties of this country; and to the endless expense of the treasure of England in prosecuting this war. It may be supposed we might have kept the Enemy from this, by interposing between him and England. Which truly I believe we might: but how to remove him out of this place, without doing what we have done, unless we had had a commanding Army on both sides of the River of Forth, is not clear to us; or how to answer the inconveniences aforementioned, we understand not.”¹

Leaving Monk with seven thousand men in charge of military operations in Scotland, he despatched Lambert with the larger part of the horse to follow Charles with all possible rapidity. “With the rest of the horse,” he wrote “and nine regiments of foot, most of them of your old foot and horse [his Ironsides], I am hastening up; and shall, by the Lord’s help, use utmost diligence.” He wrote letters to the Parliament acquainting them with what had occurred and besought them to call out all the militia of the kingdom to intercept the invaders. Then he proceeded with the infantry in the trail of Lambert.

As Charles pursued his hasty march down through England he became greatly disappointed by the failure of his friends to join his Army. Many of the Scots who were with him began to repent of their rash adventure, and fell away. The English Presbyterians had received no notice of his coming, and his progress was much too rapid to draw them into his march. The old Cavaliers needed nothing but the sound of his bugle to call them forth in all their old enthusiasm, but they were Episcopalians, and the bigoted men who controlled the policy of Charles’s Army would permit the enlistment of no one, not even in this dangerous extremity, who would not subscribe the Covenant. The Earl of Derby did lead a body of Royalists in

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 284.

Lancashire, but they were quickly suppressed, and the Earl afterwards lost his head for the attempt. Under these circumstances Charles sped on past York, and Nottingham, and Coventry, summoning each town to surrender, but scarcely pausing to receive their negative replies, for the steady tread of Cromwell's pursuit was ever in his ears. He reached the city of Worcester on the 22d of August, having but a few more men than he had started with, probably sixteen thousand. He was permitted to enter the city, and was encouraged and sustained by the devotion of the populace. Six days later Cromwell came in sight with an army of thirty thousand men.

The battle of Worcester was fought on the 3d of September, 1651 (Oliver's fortunate day), about four o'clock in the afternoon. The city is on the bank of the Severn River. Cromwell built two bridges of boats across the river, and passed about half his Army over to the side opposite the city, under Fleetwood, where a large party of Scots promptly engaged him in a hot fight and were pressed back. Charles watched the fight from the roof of the old Cathedral, and when he saw so many of the English go across the river he decided that it would be well to sally forth and attack Cromwell's main body. This was done, and the struggle was as fierce as any which the great leader had ever witnessed ;—" as stiff a contest for four or five hours," he wrote, " as I have seen." His men were repulsed ; many of them were the raw militia levies, and would not stand before the furious Scots, who were fighting with the energy of despair. Cromwell himself had been with Fleetwood on the other side of the river ; had been the first man in fact to cross the bridge of boats, and he had driven all before him. But now he is back on the Worcester side. A glance shows him the danger. He spurs forward his horse. He rides in the very front to a regiment of Scottish foot and offers them quarter, and they fire their guns at him. His men press forward again. There is no dismay when he is with them. The Scots retreat into Worcester streets, and the English press in upon them pell-mell. Charles himself is doing a soldier's part ; he makes one gallant charge at the head of his

troops,—but it avails not. On the other side the Scots turn to Fleetwood's bridges, and hurry across to the city. Fleetwood follows them, and they are thus surrounded by Cromwell on the one hand and Fleetwood on the other. And then it is hot passion, and blood, and woe. Their fort within the city is taken, and Cromwell turns their own guns upon them. Many hundreds of them are slain. Duke Hamilton, brother to the former Duke, is killed. Seven thousand surrender, including nearly the whole of the Scottish nobility in arms. Many others fly,—weary, frightened fugitives, who are pursued and struck down by Lambert; hunted, killed, or taken, in every by-path in the Midland counties.¹

The young King left Worcester with fifty or sixty friends about six o'clock in the evening, and rode twenty-six miles without a stop. Then he separated from his companions and rode through the forest to Bascobel, on the borders of Staffordshire, and stopped at the house of a farmer named Penderell. To him he discovered his identity, and Penderell kept him with him for some days garbed as a wood-chopper. He had many narrow escapes, and once climbed hastily into a tall oak tree while a party of Parliamentary soldiers paused beneath to discuss his whereabouts. It was even said that Charles spent two or three days in Cromwell's Army disguised as a boy servant to one of the Puritan officers.² He went to Bristol disguised as a serving man to one of his faithful friends, but could find no suitable vessel there for his departure. After many adventures, in the course of which his person became known to some forty men and women, he succeeded in obtaining a passage from Shoreham, in Sussex, and sailed away for France, there to remain in comparative quiet until after the death of his relentless foe.³

¹ Heath's *Chronicle of the Late Intestine War*, London, 1676, p. 297; Cromwell's account, Carlyle, vol. ii., p. 301; Clarendon, vol. vi., p. 511; Whitelock, vol. iii., p. 345, etc.

² Whitelock, vol. iii., pp. 361, 364.

³ Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 299; Hume's *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 420; *Parl. History*, vol. iii., p. 1375.

Worcester was Cromwell's last battle. He wrote to the Parliament :

" The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is for aught I know a crowning mercy. Surely, if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concerned in it to thankfulness ; and the Parliament to do the will of Him who hath done His will for it, and for the Nation ;—whose good pleasure it is to establish the Nation and the Change of the Government, by making the People so willing to the defence thereof, and so signally blessing the endeavours of your servants in this late great work. I am bold humbly to beg, That all thoughts may tend to the promoting of His honour who hath wrought so great salvation ; and that the fatness of these continuous mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen Nation (Deuteronomy, xxxii., 15) ; but that the fear of the Lord, even for His mercies, may keep an Authority and a People so prospered, and blessed, and witnessed unto, humble and faithful ; and that justice and righteousness, mercy and truth, may flow from you, as a thankful return to our gracious God."

When the Parliament received these tidings they voted that the anniversary of Worcester should be a holiday for all time to come.¹

It will be seen that Cromwell's art in war was to find out his enemy and fight him on sight. In the campaign in Scotland there were three occasions on which the strategy of his enemy placed him in peril : at Musselburgh, when he was cut off from his supplies ; at Dunbar, when he found his Army in a trap ; and in Fife, when he permitted young Charles to pass around behind him and invade England.

¹ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii., p. 1371. There is an absurd and ridiculous story of an infernal alliance made between Cromwell and the Devil on the day of Worcester fight which is told by several of the old writers with a gravity and circumstance which show that they endeavoured to entirely believe it. Walker's account (*History of Independency*, Book iv., p. 31) is as follows : " Give me leave here to relate a passage which I received from a person of quality, viz. : It was believed, and that not without some good cause, that Cromwell, the same morning that he defeated the King's Army at Worcester fight had conference personally with the Devil, with whom he made a contract, that to have his will then, and in all things else for seven years after from that time (being the third of September, 1651), he should at the expiration of the said years have him at his command to do at his pleasure, both with his soul and body. Now, if any one will please to reckon from the third of September, 1651, till the third of September, 1658 [the day of Cromwell's death], he shall find to a day just seven years and no more, at the end whereof he died, but with such extremity of tempestuous weather, that was by all men judged to be prodigious."

After Worcester he never drew his sword in war, and it was in the Senate and in the Council Chamber that his genius was henceforth to shine. He returned to London ten days after the Worcester battle, and was received with all the pomp and acclamation which a grateful people could bestow upon their deliverer. Chaplain Hugh Peters was much impressed by the magnificence of Cromwell's triumph, and, amid the booming of cannon and the huzzas of the people, he could not refrain from saying: "This man will be King of England yet!" Why not? He had conquered England, and Ireland, and Scotland. What better man was there to assume the government?





CHAPTER XXII.

THE RUMP EXPELLED—THE LORD PROTECTOR.

Cromwell's Work for England—Peace throughout Great Britain—Religious Toleration—England's Power Abroad—War with Holland—The Army Petitions the Parliament to Dissolve—The Commons Plan to Hold their Seats Perpetually—Cromwell Expels the Parliament—England without a Government—Reflections on the Long Parliament—Cromwell Assembles the Little Parliament—The Reign of the Saints—The Fifth Monarchy Inaugurated—Failure of the Little Parliament—Cromwell is Proclaimed Lord Protector.

THE power of Cromwell's sword had by this time placed the Commonwealth of England upon an assured and successful foundation. At the beginning of the year 1651 the three kingdoms had been rocking in the throes of civil war. When that year closed there was scarcely in all Great Britain or Ireland a hostile soldier under arms. A solid and substantial peace ensued, and much of the bitterness of the strife was forgotten amid the material prosperity which began to attend the nation. Sir Harry Vane and Oliver St. John, the most astute politicians in England, were sent as commissioners to Scotland, and they succeeded by their diplomatic skill in securing the voluntary consent of all the counties and towns of that conquered country to a permanent affiliation with the Commonwealth.¹ "The great shot of Cromwell and Vane," wrote Baillie, the Scottish Covenanter, "is to have a liberty of all religions without any exception."²

¹ Whitelock, vol. iii., pp. 407, 410, 414, 418, 462, 464, 468; Hume's *History of England*, vol. v., p. 526.

² Hanbury's *Memorials of the Independents*, vol. ii., p. 451. "Sir Henry Vane, whom we trusted most," says Baillie, "had given us many signs of his alteration;

The new Government, having pacified its own dominions, turned its ambitious attention to foreign conquests. The kingdom of Portugal, which had given aid and comfort to Prince Rupert's fleet, was humiliated and made to sue for pardon. A war with Holland was entered upon (1652) on account of the English Navigation Act. In the first engagement at sea the great Dutch commanders, Van Tromp and De Ruiter, won the advantage over Blake, the English Admiral; and Van Tromp fixed a broom to his main mast as a warning that he intended to sweep the English ships from the sea. Smarting under this taunt, Blake (1653) gathered together an invincible Navy, and attacked Tromp; and after a three days' fight in which both the armadas were handled with the utmost skill and bravery, the Dutchman was beaten. The power of England was henceforth esteemed by all the world as invulnerable both on the land and the sea. "In two years," said Algernon Sidney, "our fleets grew to be as famous as our land armies, and the reputation and power of our nation rose to a greater height than when we possessed the better half of France and had the Kings of France and Scotland for our prisoners."

But the steady development of the naval power under the direction of the Parliament, and the consequent rivalry of interest between the Army and the Navy, produced a grave jealousy in the Army. An order from the Parliament employing several regiments of soldiers to serve in the Navy increased the discontent. With Blake winning victories every day the Parliament would soon stand unassailable with the Navy behind it. The eminent services of Cromwell might soon be forgotten in the newer glories of Blake. Cromwell and his Army were in favour of putting an end to the Dutch war. The Parliament and Blake, winning prizes every day, discouraged all negotiations for peace.

That Cromwell had for a long time intended to forcibly ter-

twice at our table prolixly, earnestly, and passionately had reasoned for a full liberty of conscience to all religions without any exceptions."—*Letters and Journals*, by Robert Baillie, A.M., Edinburgh, 1841, 3 vols.

minate the Long Parliament seems to be beyond dispute. He and Ireton had discussed it frequently, as we have already seen, in the days of the treaties with Charles. He had spoken of it to Ludlow. He had declared it boldly to Whitelock, adding an astounding suggestion about taking it upon himself to be King.¹ His complaint to Whitelock was that the Army had begun to have a strong distaste against the Parliament; that they were overcome with pride, and ambition, and self-seeking; that they engrossed all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends; that they meddled in private matters between parties, contrary to the usage of Parliaments, and were unjust and partial in such affairs; and that many of them led scandalous lives.²

A further reason for Cromwell's growing aversion was the estrangement which had taken place between himself and young Sir Harry Vane—"young Sir Harry" still, for his father yet sat beside him in Parliament, and died in 1654. Vane was to the Parliament what Cromwell was to the Army and what Blake was to the Navy. Since the execution of the King, to which he had been unalterably opposed, Vane had lost ground in Cromwell's esteem. Now, as Treasurer of the Navy, his genius had just perfected a plan for raising £120,000 a month for the war with Holland, and for the consequent increase of the power of the fleet. Besides, he was proposing to publicly sell all the royal palaces in order to remove from the eyes of any ambitious man in the kingdom a palpable temptation to seize the Crown.

But Vane was forced by an almost universal demand to make some preparations for the election of a new Parliament. The existing basis of representation was outrageously unfair. Some of the boroughs which were represented by two members had scarcely a house upon them. The single county of Cornwall elected forty-four, while more thickly populated counties, like Essex, had only six.³ The entire symmetry of the Parliament,

¹ Whitelock, vol. iii., p. 471.

² *Ibid.*, 470.

³ Ludlow, vol. iii., p. 1.

as representative of the English people, had been destroyed by Pride's Purge.

The popular discontent impelled the Army leaders to send the Parliament a remonstrance appealing for the dissolution of that body. They acknowledged that the Parliament had completed great undertakings, and had overcome gigantic difficulties. Yet it was not fair to the rest of the nation, they said, to be excluded from bearing any part in the service of their country. It was now full time for them to give place to others; and they therefore desired them, after appointing a council to execute the laws, to summon a new Parliament, and establish that free and equal Government which they had so long promised the nation.

The Rump members were naturally averse to a free election, as it was not unlikely that a quick revulsion of feeling would take place among the people that would result in the election of a Parliament which would restore the banished Stuarts, and cause the abandonment of all that had been accomplished for the national liberty. They therefore prepared a bill upon a general plan suggested long before by Henry Ireton for a free election, but with the important provisions added to it: first, that all the present members were to continue to hold their seats without re-election; and, secondly, that a committee of the Rump was to superintend the elections and judge of their validity and fitness. November 3, 1653, the thirteenth anniversary of the assembling of the Long Parliament, was fixed as the period of their sitting.

The introduction of this bill in Parliament threw Cromwell into a violent rage. He desired to see a new Parliament elected which would represent the Independent party alone, esteeming the time as not yet ripe for entrusting the whole people with a voice in the Government. But while the safeguards in Vane's bill would prevent the election of a Royalist majority, the increasing prestige of the Navy would likewise operate towards the choosing of a body favourable to Vane and Blake, rather than to Cromwell and the Army. He inwardly resolved that, rather than throw away the fruits of his great

victories, or place them in jeopardy at the hands of a new and possibly hostile Parliament, he would dissolve the Rump without immediate provision for its successor. His strong desire to avoid an ignominious ejection of a Parliament so illustrious in the eyes of the world, drew from him many overtures for its peaceful and honourable retirement. Since the preceding October he had held fully a dozen meetings with their leaders, but had not yet secured their consent to its dissolution. In the meantime, Vane's bill was hurried through its legislative stages in April, 1653, and was soon made ready for passage. On the 19th of April Cromwell summoned all the Parliamentary leaders to his lodgings at Whitehall. On Cromwell's side there were St. John, Lambert, Harrison, Fleetwood, Desborough, and many other principal officers of the Army. With Vane were Whitelock, Hazelrig, Scott, Marten, Sidney, and seventeen others. The discussion was acrimonious and lasted until after midnight. The Parliament men reproached the Army leaders with a desire to assume all the civil as well as the military power. The Army men brusquely replied that the members of Parliament would not be permitted to prolong their own power. The conference degenerated into what was very much like a fight for the spoils of war. Harrison remarked that Cromwell merely desired to pave the way for the Government of Jesus and his Saints; and it was answered that Jesus ought to come quickly then, for if he delayed it long he would come too late,—he would find his place occupied. To all of Cromwell's entreaties the Parliament men replied, "that nothing would do good for this nation but the continuance of this Parliament." He attempted to draw them into a committal that neither Royalists nor Presbyterians should enjoy the electoral franchise. "For it's one thing to love a brother," he said, "to bear with and love a person with different judgment in the matters of religion; and another thing to have anybody so far set in the saddle on that account, as to have all the rest of his brethren at mercy." But they stubbornly refused to make him any promises. He told them they were endeavouring only to perpetuate themselves in authority, and again they

answered that only so could the good of the nation be secured. Midnight came without any satisfactory concessions on either side. Finally Vane promised to suspend further proceedings about the bill until after another conference with the military party, and with this understanding they separated.¹

The next morning (April 20, 1653) shortly after the Parliament met, Colonel Ingoldsby, and afterwards a second and a third messenger, came hastily to Cromwell to say that the members were pushing to a final vote the bill for the election of a new Parliament and the continuance of their own seats therein. All the sleeping passion in the General's breast was aroused by this perfidious proceeding. He summoned a reliable body of troops from his own regiment of Ironsides and walked briskly to the Parliament House. As he entered the Commons' Chamber, he said to St. John that he had come with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly with tears besought the Lord not to impose upon him; that he would rather be torn in pieces than do it; but there was a necessity in order to the glory of God and good of the nation. He sat down in his accustomed seat, clad in plain black clothes and gray worsted stockings, and listened attentively to the debate on the bill. Then he beckoned to Major-General Harrison and whispered that he judged the Parliament ripe for a dissolution, and thought this was the time for doing it. Harrison replied that the work was very great and dangerous, and asked him to seriously consider before he engaged in it. Whereupon Cromwell sat still for some fifteen minutes. The question for passing the bill was then put, and Cromwell said to Harrison, "This is the time I must do it," and rose up, put off his hat, and began to speak. There were not more than fifty-three members present.² At the start he said much in commendation of the Parliament for their valuable public ser-

¹ Cromwell's account, in his speech to the Little Parliament, *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i., p. 341. Whitelock, vol. iv., p. 4. *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii., p. 1381.

² Cromwell. Ludlow, who was in Ireland at the time, says there were eighty or a hundred; his two figures being so far apart as to indicate that he was guessing.

vices, but as the importance of his purpose began to press upon his mind, he changed his style and spoke with a tongue of flame. He loaded them with reproaches, saying that they had no heart to do anything for the public good; that they had espoused the corrupt interest of Presbytery and the lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression. He accused them of an intention to perpetuate themselves in power, and said that they had brought forward the act of dissolution merely because they had been forced to do so, although he believed they never intended to observe its provisions. He told them—and there was the roar of the lion in his voice now—that the Lord had done with them, and had chosen other instruments for the carrying on his work that were more worthy.

Sir Peter Wentworth was the only man who dared to rise amid that tempest of wrath. He said that this was the first time he had ever heard such unbecoming language given to the Parliament, and that it was the more horrid in that it came from their servant,—their servant whom they had so highly trusted and obliged. But when Wentworth had gone thus far, Cromwell clapped on his hat and interrupted him with, “Come, come, we have had enough of this!” He walked furiously up and down the floor. “I will put an end to your prating,” he cried, in a high voice. He stamped his feet upon the floor,—no man had ever seen the like of such rage in a Parliament before. “It is not fit that you should sit here any longer. You are no Parliament!” Oh, the scorn of his tone! “I say you are no Parliament!” To an officer he cried, “Call them in; call them in”; and the grim companions of his battles entered, with eyes alert and guns ready, and waited his further orders.

“I say you are no Parliament.” They are on their feet now, their faces blazing with amazement. Sir Harry Vane gravely speaks: “This is not honest; yea, it is against morality and common honesty.” Cromwell is all passion. “Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!” He glares on Tom Challoner, and says: “Some of you are drunkards!” His eye lights on Harry

Marten, and he cries: "Some of you are lewd-livers, living in open contempt of God's commandments!" His flashing eyes pass from face to face and he says: "Some of you are corrupt, unjust persons; scandalous to the profession of the Gospel." As the once great Parliament stands cowering before him, he thunders out their final doom. "Depart, I say!" They began to go out. There was no gainsaying this man. They understood then, perhaps, why he had never been defeated in his battles. His eye fell upon the Mace, the emblem of authority, but it aroused no respect in his mind. "Take away that bauble," he said to one of his soldiers. Lenthall still sat in the Speaker's chair. His dignity was imperturbable; and when Cromwell ordered him to come down he tarried. Harrison then took him by the hand and helped him down; and he vanished. So did they all; and as young Sir Harry walked sadly away Cromwell said to him reproachfully, alluding to the broken agreement of the night before, that he might have prevented this extraordinary course, but he was a juggler and had not so much as common honesty. The bill which had produced this scene of violence was taken by Cromwell and carried away under his cloak, and was never found afterwards. Cromwell was the last to leave that historic Chamber, and as he passed out he locked the door and took the key with him.¹ The State of England was then without King, Lords, or Commons; it was bereft of all legal Government whatsoever.

The expulsion of the Long Parliament was one of the most remarkable scenes in English history. And yet Cromwell said: "Not a dog barked at their going." As a violation of popular liberty it certainly surpassed the attempt of Charles to arrest five of its members. The Parliament had sat nearly thirteen years. It had secured for Englishmen substantial liberties which have never faded away, and which will always be a boon to mankind. The temptations of power had made it tyrannical, perhaps corrupt. But while the high spirit of patriotism which had marked the first years of its sitting had

¹ Ludlow, vol. ii., p. 455. Whitelock, vol. iv., p. 5. Dugdale's *Short View of the Late Troubles*, p. 405.

indisputably deteriorated; while the unanimity of its design to promote the nation's welfare had given place to factious and sectarian jealousies; while its various purgings had left it as the mere Rump of a great original,—it was still, with all its faults, yea, with all its crimes, the venerable champion of England's liberties, and it deserved a more felicitous exit from the stage.

Cromwell left the vacant Parliament House and went to the Council of State, who were in official session. As he entered he said to them: "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; but if as a Council of State, this is no place for you; and since you can't but know what was done at the House this morning, so take notice, that the Parliament is dissolved." John Bradshaw, the President, attempted to oppose him. "Sir," said Bradshaw, "we have heard what you did in the House this morning, and before many hours all England will hear it. But, sir, you are mistaken to think that the Parliament is dissolved; for no power under Heaven can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take you notice of that." But Cromwell's will could not be turned by words like these, and the Council of State vanished as the Parliament had done.¹

Cromwell's power was now supreme. As "Lord General and Commander-in-Chief of all the Armies and forces raised and to be raised" he was naturally the highest authority in the nation. But he seems to have desired to establish at least the forms of a constitutional Government. He accordingly issued a summons to one hundred and forty Puritan Englishmen, "persons fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty,"—to assemble at Whitehall on the 4th of July, to whom was to be committed "the peace, safety, and good government of the Commonwealth." This body is known in history as the Little Parliament, or in a more familiar way as Barebone's Parliament, from the spiritual prominence of one of its members, Praise-God Barebone, or Barbone, who was a leather merchant in London. Among the members were some notable men,—Admiral Blake;

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 461.

Alderman Ireton, a brother of the dead soldier; Richard Mayor, the father-in-law of Richard Cromwell; men of good family, as Colonel Charles Howard and Colonel Edward Montague; and many who were neither notable nor of good family. They were all Puritans, and, generically, Independents, but they were subdivided into Anabaptists, or those who believed that infant baptism was not valid, and Millenarians, or Fifth Monarchy men, who believed that after the rotative domination in the world of the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman Empires, the reign of Christ for a thousand years was at last about to begin on this earth.¹

Cromwell inaugurated their session by a very remarkable speech, which is in part an apology for his conduct, in part a statement of the existing situation, and in part a sermon of the times. He told them that the last Parliament had been dismissed, partly, because of their intention *not* to give the people a right of choice, forgetting that the men whom he was then addressing had not been called by the people's right of choice, but by his own command. His own broad toleration of religious beliefs was indicated by this exhortation:

“Therefore, I beseech you,—but I think I need not,—have a care of the whole flock! Love the sheep, love the lambs; love all, tender all, cherish and countenance all, in all things that are good. And if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, shall desire to live peaceably and quietly under you, I say if any shall desire but to lead a life of godliness and honesty, let him be protected!”

He counselled them in regard to their choice of officials. “If I were to choose any servant,” he said, “the meanest officer for the Army or the Commonwealth, I would choose a godly man that hath principles.”

He then committed the whole of the civil power into their hands, as a Parliament, to be exercised in accordance with the provisions of *The Instrument of Government*, drawn up by himself and his officers. And the announcement of the coming of the Millennium, of the beginning of the Reign of the Saints, was given to them in this peroration, than which no stranger

¹ Full list of the members in *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii, p. 1407.

address was ever heard in a civil gathering before. But there was nothing of hypocrisy about it. It was an outburst of faith and pious joy, a song of prophecy from an earnest soul, which believed that, after battling with the darkness, it now bathed in the eternal presence of the Spirit of Christ. He said :

"Indeed, I have but one more word to say to you ; though in that perhaps I shall show my weakness : it's by way of encouragement to go on in this Work. And give me leave to begin thus. I confess I never looked to see such a Day as this,—it may be nor you neither,—when Jesus Christ should be so owned as He is, this day, in this Work. Jesus Christ is owned this day by the Call of You ; and you own Him by your willingness to appear before Him. And you manifest this, as far as poor creatures may do, to be a Day of the Power of Christ. I know you well remember that Scripture, "He makes His People willing in the day of His power." God manifests this to be the Day of the Power of Christ ; having, through so much blood, and so much trial as hath been upon these Nations, made this to be one of the great issues thereof : To have His People called to the Supreme Authority. He makes this to be the greatest mercy, next to His own Son. God hath owned His Son ; and He hath owned you, and made you own Him. I confess I never looked to have seen such a day ; I did not. Perhaps you are not known by face to one another ; indeed I am confident you are strangers, coming from all parts of the Nation as you do ; but we shall tell you that indeed we have not allowed ourselves the choice of one person in whom we had not this good hope, That there was in him faith in Jesus Christ, and love to all His people and Saints."¹

While the Little Parliament was appointing its committees, Cromwell had organised a Council of State in conformity with *The Instrument of Government*. This Council consisted of thirty-one members, and it soon became apparent that upon it must devolve the discharge of the actual duties of the State. Cromwell had hoped that his Parliament would, by a kind of divine intuition, be enabled to wisely administer the Government ; but, while they spent whole days in seeking the Lord, they had not sat a week before he discerned that the Reign of the Saints on earth, in other words, the Fifth Monarchy, had not yet been established from on high. His strivings after these unattainable things are full of pathos. He wrote thus to Fleetwood, his son-in-law, now Commander-in-chief in Ireland, and married to Bridget Cromwell, Ireton's widow :

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 341.

"Fain would I have my service accepted of the Saints, if the Lord will; but it is not so. Being of different judgments, and those of each sort seeking most to propagate their own, that spirit of kindness that is [in me] to them all, is hardly accepted of any. I hope I can say it, My life has been a willing sacrifice,—and I hope,—for them all. . . . If the day of the Lord be so near as some say, how should our moderation appear! If every one, instead of contending, would justify his form of judgment by love and meekness, Wisdom would be [justified of her children.] But, alas!"

Then follows this sad reflection, his pen and thoughts running into the sorrows of David in their kindred feeling:

"I am, in my temptation, ready to say, Oh, would I had wings like a dove, then would I fly away, and be at rest. Lo, then would I wander far off, and remain in the wilderness. I would hasten my escape from the windy storm and tempest!"¹

He recalls himself to his duty, and says:

"I bless the Lord I have somewhat keeps me alive: some sparks of the light of His countenance, and some sincerity above man's judgment. Excuse me thus unbowelling myself to you: pray for me; and desire my friends to do so also. My love to thy dear Wife, whom indeed I entirely love, both naturally and upon the best account; and my blessing, if it be worth anything, upon thy little Babe."²

Surely, no hypocrite could write thus. His design for a Theocratic Government was impracticable, let us even say fanatical, but he himself was devoutly moved by his "transports" to believe in the certainty of the unveiling of God's mysteries upon earth. But his faith became shaken by the cold hand of experience.

The Little Parliament, believing that Cromwell's deposit of power in their custody was genuine, as he intended it to be, began to attempt the reformation of the country. They first attacked the clergy as a privileged class which derived its functions from the Papacy, claiming that all men had an equal right to preach at will. They abolished the system of tithes as a relic of Judaism. Learning and the Universities were deemed unnecessary and incompatible with the spirit of the true

¹ Cromwell stops the quotation after "then would I," using the sign "&c." to indicate the rest.

² *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 371.

Gospel. The lawyers were then taken into consideration, all, including Cromwell, having a special pique at that profession. Indeed, Cromwell had said to Ludlow, that the main operation of the law, as at present constituted, was to maintain the lawyers, and assist the rich in oppressing the poor. He added, that Cooke, who was Justice in Ireland, by proceeding in a summary and expeditious way, determined more causes in a week, than Westminster Hall in a year. Ireland, he observed, was a clean paper in that particular, and capable of being governed by such laws as should be found most agreeable to justice; which might be so impartially administered there, as to afford a good precedent to England itself, "where, when we shall once perceive that property may be preserved at so easy and cheap a rate, we shall certainly never allow ourselves to be cheated and abused as we have been."¹

Finally, it was determined to destroy the Court of Chancery, the highest court of judicature in the kingdom. There was some palliation for their deep contempt of the heaviness of the law when it is stated that there were twenty-three thousand causes or from five to thirty years' continuance then lying undetermined in Chancery. One member not inaptly said that for dilatoriness, chargeableness, and a faculty of bleeding people in the purse-vein, even to their utter perishing and undoing, the Court of Chancery surpassed any court in the world.² The Parliament began to forget the manner of their assembling under Cromwell's invitation, and to assume a direct power from the Lord, which pleased not the Lord General. Cromwell resolved to dismiss this Parliament. But they were by this time divided among themselves, and he could not get a clear majority to do his bidding. It was necessary to dissemble, and Cromwell was a political dissembler of the first rank.

On Monday morning, the 12th of December, 1653, those members who were faithful to Cromwell, including Francis Rouse, the Speaker, met early by concert and resolved, "That the sitting of this Parliament any longer, as now constituted,

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*.

² *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii., p. 1412.

will not be for the good of the Commonwealth; and that therefore it is requisite to deliver-up unto the Lord General Cromwell the powers which we received from him." They then hastened away to Whitehall where a formal deed transferring their powers to Cromwell was waiting them, and so great was his desire for haste that they signed their names on separate bits of paper which were afterwards pasted on the document itself. They then disappeared from Whitehall and from history.¹ General Harrison and about twenty more were in the meantime met in the House where they placed one of their brethren in the chair and began to draw up protests against abolishing the Reign of the Saints. But presently Colonel White came with a body of soldiers from Cromwell and asked them what they did there; to which they answered that they were seeking the Lord. "Then you may go elsewhere," said he, "for to my certain knowledge, he has not been here these many years."²

The conduct of the Little Parliament had highly alarmed all those of the legal and clerical professions, in fact, all the scholars and men of mind, and had turned their thoughts towards Cromwell as a desirable head of the State. His formal assumption of authority was a necessity of the times; the only settlement of a great emergency. The officers of the Army and the common soldiers demanded it; the rest of the population of England clearly expected it. And Cromwell consented to it as a public duty.

A new *Instrument of Government* was drawn up by Lambert. It consisted of forty-two articles and comprised a clear and liberal constitution. It provided for the appointment of a new Council of State to consist of not more than twenty-one nor less than thirteen persons; the head of the State was to be one person to be called the Lord Protector, who was to be the supreme magistrate. He could pardon all crimes but murder and treason, and he held the prerogatives of peace, war, and

¹ Whitelock, vol. iv., p. 54. Ludlow, vol. iii., p. 474. *Parl. Hist.*, iii., p. 1414. Clarendon, vol. vii., p. 11.

² Heath's *Flagellum*, p. 143.

alliance ; he was obliged to summon a Parliament every three years, and allow them to sit five months without interruption ; all bills passed by the Parliament were to be submitted to the Lord Protector, but if within twenty days they were not returned with his approval they were then to become laws by the single voice of the Parliament. But they were not to touch the Army in number or pay, nor legislate against any man's conscience except as to the Catholics, nor make any alteration in the *Instrument of Government*. The Army was to consist permanently of twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse. During the intervals of Parliament the Lord Protector and his Council might enact laws, which must afterwards receive the assent of the Parliament. The chief officers of the State were to be chosen by and with the advice and consent of the Parliament, or, in times of its non-sitting, by the Council, subject to their future confirmation by the Parliament. Cromwell was named the Lord Protector and was to hold office for life, but it was distinctly declared that it was not hereditary, but elective, and at his death the Council should fill his place immediately.¹

Was this the *Instrument* of a tyrant or of a constitutional ruler? The privileges which were reserved to the Protector were not nearly equal to the well-defined prerogatives of the King. It is true that in reserving to himself the entire control of the Army Cromwell was to be the chooser of his own bounds ; but there is a very clear and definite purpose in this *Instrument* to establish a Government by the people, in so far as the people could be trusted in those bitter times, with a sufficient authority in the background to rescue the destinies of England whenever they might seem to be in peril.

We have seen that the Little Parliament was dissolved on Monday, December 12, 1653. On Friday, the 16th, Cromwell was installed at Westminster as Lord Protector amidst great pageantry. He left Whitehall preceded by the Commissioners of the Great Seal ; after them came the Judges and Barons of

¹ Ludlow, vol. iii., p. 478. Whitelock, vol. iv., p. 56, gives the *Instrument* in full.

the Exchequer in the insignia of their office ; then the Council of State ; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their scarlet robes ; and then Cromwell, dressed in a plain but rich suit of black velvet, riding in the coach of state with its outriders, and attended by the chief officers of the Army and an imposing escort of soldiery. A chair of state was set for him in Westminster Hall and he stood beside it, uncovered, while the *Instrument of Government* was read and a solemn oath administered, by which he bound himself to support it. He then sat down and resumed his hat, and General Lambert presented him with a sword in its scabbard, representing the Civil Sword. The Lord Protector accepted this, and put off his own, signifying that military rule was ended. He was then proclaimed Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, after which he returned to Whitehall in the same order in which he had come thence, being greeted along the line of march by the acclamations of the citizens and soldiers.¹ On arriving at Whitehall, he immediately provided that all the ceremony and state should be observed with regard to his person that was usual with the Kings of England.²

¹ Whitelock, vol. iv., p. 55. Ludlow, vol. iii., p. 480.

² Whitelock, vol. iv., p. 72.





CHAPTER XXIII.

ENGLAND'S GREATEST STRENGTH.

Cromwell's Personal Appearance—Purposes to Grant Toleration to Catholics—And to the Jews—An Account of Jewish Persecutions—Union of England and Scotland—Extravagant Notions of the Fanatics—Cromwell Makes England Sovereign of the Seas—Peace with Holland—Assassination Plots—Affair of Don Pantaleon Sa—Proposed Marriage of Charles with Cromwell's Daughter—Cromwell Scorns the Match—Purity of Cromwell's Court—Calls his First Parliament—Death of his Mother—Failure of his Parliament.

CROMWELL, at the time of his installment as Lord Protector, was a little past fifty-four years of age. His frame was cast in a large mould, and lacked but two inches of six feet in height. His head was massive,—“You might see it,” said John Maidstone, “a storehouse and shop both of a vast treasury of natural parts.” There was the historic wart above the right eyebrow; nose large and wide at nostril; full lips; deep gray eyes, full of all tenderness, or, if need be, of all fierceness. Rich dark brown locks, now showing many a silver hair, fell flowing below his collar-band. A slight mustache only partially covered his upper lip, while just under his nether lip was a little tuft of beard scarce half-an-inch long. A hero, he was, whose face and figure had been bathed in the storms of battle, and on which the eternal dignities of a great life had set an indelible and distinguished mark.¹

¹ There are three extant portraits of Cromwell, painted from life, by Cooper, Robert Walker, and Sir Peter Lely. Walker's portrait presents a stately and statuesque soldier, holding an imperious baton of authority. The pictures by Cooper and Lely much resemble each other in their general features, though there is a degree of human life on Lely's canvas, presenting at once the rugged grandeur, beauty, and fierceness of the Protector's face, which does not appear in either of

After his death, when it was esteemed a sign of moral obliquity to praise him, John Maidstone, who knew him well, said :

" His temper [was] exceedingly fiery, as I have known, but the flame of it [was] kept down for the most part, or soon allayed with those moral endowments he had. He was naturally compassionate towards objects in distress, even to an effeminate measure ; though God had made him a heart wherein was left little room for any fear, but what was due to himself, of which there was a large proportion, yet did he exceed in tenderness towards sufferers. A larger soul, I think, hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay than his was."

the other portraits. Perhaps this is the result of Cromwell's command to Lely, as reported by Walpole, that " you shall paint me exactly as I am, with all my warts, humors and blemishes, or I will not pay you a farthing for your picture." Walker's portrait has an interesting association. While Whitelock was in Sweden on an embassy which resulted in an alliance between that country and England, Christina, the eccentric, youthful, and beautiful Queen, became fascinated with Cromwell by the accounts of his puissance and dignity which she received from his ambassador. Upon Whitelock's return he delivered to the Lord Protector a massive gold chain, the gift of Christina, together with a secret missive written by her in a most grotesque humour, which wildly suggested that if it were practicable to effect a marriage between them she thought it possible that they might beget a race of Alexanders ! In Walker's portrait Cromwell, though dressed in mail, wears her chain, and the harshness of his features is softened as if the artist had endeavoured to please the eye of an admiring and romantic young lady. With the picture he sent the following inscription which was rendered into Latin doubtless by the pen of John Milton : " Virgin, powerful in war, queen of the frozen north, bright star of the pole, you see what furrows the toils of the field have traced in my brow, while, already old in appearance, I still retain the energies of a soldier, and pursue the untried paths of fate, executing the heroic behests of that country with whose welfare I am entrusted. Yet to you I willingly smooth the sternness of my features ; nor shall the royal Christina find that I at all times regard the possessor of a throne with severity." I have a fine copy of the Lely portrait which was painted for me by Philip K. Clover, and which has been a source of inspiration in my work. The portrait in this book is after Lely's. The signature under it is from the death-warrant of Charles I. The seal used on cover was Cromwell's privy-seal during the Protectorate, the device being : a square-shaped shield of arms bearing six quarterings ; above it a helmet, with mantling, and on the helmet is the crest out of a wreath, a demi-lion rampant, single-tailed *argent*, holding a spear (or sometimes a ring). The quarterings on the shield are—First, *sable*, a lion rampant *argent*, for Cromwell ; Second, *sable*, three spear-heads *argent*, for Caradoc Vreichfras ; Third, *sable*, a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis *argent*, for Collwyn ap Tangno, Lord of Efonydd ; Fourth, *gules*, three chevrons *argent*, for Jestyn ap Gwrgant, Prince of Glamorgan ; Fifth, *argent*, a lion rampant *sable*, for Madoc ap Meridith, the last Prince of Powis ; Sixth, *or*, a lion rampant *sable*, for Cromwell again.

Continuing his description with a candour which proves its truthfulness, Maidstone says :

"I do believe, if his story were impartially transmitted, and the unprejudiced world well possessed with it, she would add him to her nine worthies, and make up that number a decemviri. He lived and died in comfortable communion with God, as judicious persons near him well observed. He was that Mordecai that sought the welfare of his people, and spake peace to his seed, yet were his temptations such, as it appeared frequently, that he, that hath grace enough for many men, may have too little for himself ; the treasure he had being but in an earthen vessel, and that equally defiled with original sin, as any other man's nature is." ¹

There was no seed of hypocrisy in Cromwell's heart. In times of danger he could practise dissimulation and concealment in affairs of State, but his soul was so thoroughly enveloped in the mysticism of what he believed to be a personal communion with God, that there was no guile in his religion. This trait is indicated in General Harrison's exhortation to him about the time of the Little Parliament. "My dear lord," said Harrison, "let waiting upon Jehovah be the greatest and most considerable business you have every day ; reckon it so more than to eat, sleep, or counsel together. Run aside sometimes from your company, and get a word with the Lord. Why should not you have three or four precious souls always standing at your elbow, with whom you might now and then turn into a corner ? I have found refreshment and mercy in such a way." ²

Immediately after his assumption of the Protectorate his council, by virtue of the powers conferred by *The Instrument of Government*, passed certain wise ordinances, regulating the financial and political exigencies of the nation. Other ordinances—perhaps not so wise—were enacted in matters of religion, by which the Government assumed to inspect the characters of the preachers. And yet it was a time of complete religious toleration and liberty, excepting Popery, which the Puritan party sternly refused to recognise as a part

¹ John Maidstone's letter to Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, Thurloe, vol. i., p. 763.

² Milton's *State Papers*, London, 1743, p. 10.

or parcel of the scheme of life in England. But Cromwell, greater than his fellows, perceived their weakness when he said: "Every sect saith: Oh, give me liberty. But give him it, and, to his power, he will not yield it to anybody else. Liberty of conscience is a natural right; and he that would have it, ought to give it."¹ He in time broadened his own mental powers so as to look upon Catholicism with the eye of a statesman instead of with that of the fanatic. He wrote to Cardinal Mazarin, the French Prime Minister, in these remarkable words; the style proving the letter his own and not Milton's²:

"The obligations, and many instances of affection, which I have received from your Eminency, do engage me to make returns suitable to your merits. But although I have this set home upon my spirit, I may not (shall I tell you, I cannot?) at this juncture of time, and as the face of my affairs now stands, answer to your call for Toleration.

"I say, I cannot, as to a public Declaration of my sense in that point; although I believe that under my Government your Eminency, in the behalf of Catholics, has less reason for complaint as to rigour upon men's consciences than under the Parliament. For I have of some, and those very many, had compassion; making a difference. Truly I have (and I may speak it with cheerfulness in the presence of God, who is a witness within me to the truth of what I affirm) made a difference; and, as Jude speaks, 'plucked many out of the fire,'—the raging fire of persecution, which did tyrannise over their consciences, and encroached by an arbitrariness of power upon their estates. And herein it is my purpose, as soon as I can remove impediments, and some weights that press me down, to make a farther progress, and discharge my promise to your Eminency in relation to that."

He writes again, yet more definitely: "I desire from my heart,—I have prayed for it,—I have waited for the day to see union and right understanding between the godly people,—*'Scots, English, Jews, Gentiles, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and all.'*"

¹ Forster, p. 584.

² Carlyle, vol. iii., p. 116. An important letter, showing the steadily broadening domain of Cromwell's mind; a letter strangely overlooked by most of his biographers. Indeed, there is ground for belief that he was considering, just about the time of his fatal sickness, whether the time had not arrived for a complete toleration of the Catholic religion in England. If the Pope would "keep quiet," he would take up the subject soon. Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 369.

But more remarkable than his change of sentiment concerning Catholic toleration was his magnanimous attempt to restore the Jews to the privileges of English residents. These unfortunate people were despised and persecuted in all parts of Christendom as the murderers of Jesus; and the superstitious hatred which had arisen against them in the middle ages had made them the wretched victims of cruel and barbarous tortures on every hand. Yet the fire of their afflictions moulded them into a patient, industrious, and thrifty race. Under the laws of Europe they could neither own land nor acquire public honours. Abhorred by all the rest of mankind, and deprived of both the political and religious liberties which are so dear to the human heart, the unhappy Jews seemed by a common agreement to have made the acquisition of wealth their sole endeavour. They, therefore, began to occupy almost every channel of trade until their influence upon commerce forced from the world a universal acknowledgment. In 1290 they had been publicly banished from England, since which time, with individual exceptions, their presence had been unknown in the British dominions. After the lapse of three and a half centuries, Cromwell resolved to remove this harsh proscription from the wretched race. As an act of toleration, this project appealed to his conscience; as a beneficent help to a deserving people, it won the approval of his most liberal mind; while he was quick to recognise, as the head of the State, its unbounded influence upon the industrial system of England.

The claims of the Jewish race were first brought to Cromwell's attention by Manassah Ben Israel, a rich Amsterdam Jew, of Portuguese origin. This man was believed to be the most erudite of all his people, and he was respected for this as well as for his correct life. His wife was of the family of Abrabenels, and boasted a descent from the tribe of Judah and the royal house of David. Manassah had applied to the Long Parliament, immediately upon the establishment of the Commonwealth, for a passport to come into England, and his request had been granted. But other affairs had prevented

him from making the journey, until, in October, 1655, he learned that Cromwell would not be unwilling to see him, and he accordingly came to London. As soon as he arrived in the English capital, he published a pamphlet, entitled, *A Humble Address to the Lord Protector in Behalf of the Jewish Nation*.

Cromwell received him with a cordial welcome, and summoned to a conference a distinguished body of lawyers, citizens, and preachers, before whom he placed, with many favourable remarks, the propositions of Manassah Ben Israel. These articles were so entirely simple and reasonable that human pity is all the more profoundly extended to a race that was compelled to sue for such concessions. The Jew asked that those of his countrymen who would be willing to reside in England might have the protection of the Government; that they might purchase or erect a synagogue in London; that they might possess a cemetery for the burial of their dead; that they might be allowed to trade as other English merchants; that they might determine disputes among themselves without resort to the English courts, where both parties to the cause were so agreed; and that such laws as were hostile to these privileges might be revoked. Four conferences were held, which Cromwell personally attended. Sir Paul Ricaut, who was present, said he never heard a man speak so well as Cromwell did at one of these meetings. The lawyers and citizens were generally favourable to admitting the Jews, but the preachers quoted a hundred texts of Scripture forbidding it. Since the preachers were largely the makers of public opinion, Cromwell deemed it expedient to put an end to the open discussion of his project. He was thus baffled in his desire to grant them lawful establishment. But he issued to many of them his dispensation to come to London, and engage in their avocations of life; and it was not long, under his tacit protection, before they had gathered together a Hebrew community and opened a synagogue.¹

The public benefits arising out of the expansion of trade taught the Lord Protector to welcome to the shores of England

¹ Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. iv., p. 243.

every man of decent character, without respect to race or creed. A notable incident of his liberal policy toward the Jews was the appearance of Rabbi Jakob Ben Azahel, who came all the way from Asia to go to Huntingdon, there to study the family tree of one whose habitual use of the language of the Psalms suggested that he might be of Jewish origin, nay, perhaps even the promised Lion of the House of Judah.

The most important ordinance of his Council was that which consolidated permanently the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.¹ This was an undertaking which the Long Parliament, under the colossal leadership of Sir Harry Vane, had attempted to accomplish, but without entire success. Cromwell's ordinance was passed April 12, 1654, and was entitled, "Scotland made one Commonwealth with England." This act declared that Scotland shall be incorporated with England, and in every Parliament, to be held successively, thirty persons shall be elected from Scotland. Kingship was abolished there; the arms of Scotland were to be borne with the arms of the English Commonwealth; and many feudal institutions, including servitude and vassalage, were taken away. Superiorities, lordships, and jurisdictions were abolished, and the heritors freed from military service; and all forfeitures fell to the Lord Protector. The effect of this ordinance was to destroy the ancient power of the great nobles, which had survived in Scotland long after its decay in England, and to ease the burdens of the common people. No reparation was made to the despoiled lords, as their recent invasion of England had given a fine pretext for the sequestration of their estates. But there was no opposition; and the Lord Protector's ordinance was paramount.

¹ The following is the official list of the names of his Councillors: Philip Viscount Lisle; Charles Fleetwood, his son-in-law; John Lambert; Edward Montague; John Desborough; Walter Strickland; Henry Lawrence; Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart.; Sir Charles Wolseley, Bart.; Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Bart.; William Sydenham; Philip Jones; Richard Mayor (pronounced Major), the father-in-law of Richard Cromwell; Francis Rouse; old General Philip Skippon; Humphrey Mackworth; Nathaniel Fiennes; and Edmund Sheffield, Earl of Musgrave. The salary of each Councillor was £1,000 per annum. See *Thurloe*, vol. iii., p. 581.

Another ordinance related to the settlement of a Gospel ministry, by which Cromwell fondly hoped to establish a tolerant and enduring Puritanism throughout England. There was as much confusion in the spiritual as in the political affairs of the country. Episcopacy had been officially overthrown; Presbyterianism had not in England, as in Scotland, been established. Cromwell was heart and soul for Independency;—the independence of each congregation, whereby a complete freedom of worship might be enjoyed without oppression from clerical persons or synods. With this purpose in his mind, the Lord Protector chose thirty-eight men, the best of the English Puritans, and organised them as a body of Triers. Among them were nine laymen with Francis Rouse at their head, and twenty-nine preachers. Cromwell had not taken pains to get men of a certain sect for his Triers; there were Independents, Presbyterians, and even a few Anabaptists among them. Any person desiring to hold a church living, or levy tithe or clergy dues in England, had first to be tried and approved by these men. It was the Lord Protector's notion of the right means of teaching the true Gospel in England.¹ Baxter testifies that these Triers

"saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers. . . . So that, though many of them were somewhat partial to the Independents, Separatists, Fifth-Monarchy men and Anabaptists, and against the Prelatists and Arminians, yet so great was the benefit, above the hurt that they brought to the church, that many thousands of souls blessed God for the faithful ministers whom they let in, and grieved when the Prelatists afterward [at the Restoration] cast them out again."

Other ordinances forbade the subjects to compass or imagine the death of the Lord Protector; to raise forces against the present Government; to deny that the Lord Protector and the people assembled in Parliament are the supreme authority of the nation, or that the exercise of the chief magistracy is centred in him; to affirm that the Government is tyrannical, usurped, or illegal, or that there is any Parliament now in

¹ This ordinance is printed in Hanbury's *Memorials of the Independents* (vol. iii., p. 422), together with an account of the manner of the examinations of candidates before the Triers.

being; and to proclaim any of the posterity of the late King. Severe penalties were prescribed to effect the suppression of profane swearing and immoral vices.¹

The fanaticism of the times led to many extravagances in religion, and those who suffered from deluded minds made the extraordinary claims to divine inspiration which are so apt to follow periods of excitement and enthusiasm. A body of men who indulged in wild and whirling words were known as Ranters. They interpreted Christ's fulfilling the law for his people as a discharge from any obligation or duty the law required from them; and they argued that it was now no sin to do those things which formerly had been sinful. The slavish fear of the law being taken away, all things that man did were good if he did them with the mind and persuasion of virtue.

A respectable and elevated sect sprang up in the Quakers; yet their practices gave much offence in those formal times. These men refused to put off their hats, or to observe any of the established forms of courtesy, holding that the Christian religion required of its votaries that they should be no respecters of persons. They opposed war as unlawful, denied the payment of tithes, and disclaimed the sanction of an oath. They married in a form of their own, not submitting in this respect to the laws of their country; and they declared that the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper were of temporary obligation, and were now become obsolete. Yet among this sedate community there was one John Robins who proclaimed himself to be God Almighty; and some of his followers addressed him in that character with a devotion which would seem remarkable, were it not remembered that even in this day of ours similar claims are made, and similar faith is extorted in cases where enthusiasm has gone mad.

Another notable pretender was James Naylor, who was saluted by his devout admirers as "The Everlasting Son, the Prince of Peace, the Fairest among Ten Thousand." Naylor professed to believe that the Second Person of the Trinity was

¹ Whitelock, vol. iii., pp. 190, 213.

incarnated in him. He affected to raise the dead ; and Dorcas Ebery announced that he had restored her to life after she had lain two days in the grave. When he passed through the streets of Bristol a multitude of women followed him, and sang, " Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Israel, Hosanna in the Highest ! " When he was tried before the Parliament for blasphemy, General Skippon quoted Cromwell as having said, that he had always been for allowance to tender consciences ; but that he never intended to indulge such things as were now under trial.¹ The point illustrates Cromwell's disapproval of extreme fanaticism. These extravagant people, and there were many of them whom we have not paused to describe, must not be assumed to represent the English Puritans. Their public appearances were the usual episodes of a disordered state of society.

Contrary to the general expectation of his enemies, the manifestations of opposition to Cromwell's government were few and mild. But, on the other hand, congratulatory addresses were sent to him by the fleet, by the Army, and by many of the chief corporations and official persons in England. The congregations of saints everywhere assured him of their fealty. The Royalists, while hating the man who had executed their King, expected more lenient treatment from him than they had received from the Parliament, and were contented to bide their time. The Presbyterians were filled with satisfaction to see the Independents turned out by the man whom they had claimed to own. It looked like the dawn of peace at home, and, in the meantime, the Lord Protector was feeding the pride of his countrymen by his conquests on the seas.

It was his boast that he would make the name of an English citizen as necessary of respect throughout the world as that of a Roman had ever been. The first fruits of this resolution, which simply meant that he proposed to conduct a vigorous foreign military policy, came from the war with Holland. He had been a little fearful of the loyalty of the renowned Admiral Blake, though without cause, and had recalled General Monk

¹ Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. iv., p. 355.

from Scotland, and given him the chief command at sea. Blake gracefully accepted this humiliation like a true sailor, and continued at his post, notifying the fleet that "it was not the business of seamen to mind State affairs, but to keep foreigners from fooling us." The third in command in the Navy was Dean, who had risen from a common seaman to the reputation of a bold and excellent officer.

On the 2d of June, 1654, the English fleet under Monk and Dean engaged the Dutch fleet under Van Tromp, De Ruiter, and De Witte. Each Navy consisted equally of about an hundred sail. For two days the battle was fiercely fought. A jealousy between the Dutch admirals threw the advantage to the English. On the third day Blake came up with a fresh squadron, and produced a panic among the Dutch. Van Tromp tried to hold his ships in line, but they fled down the wind, seeking shelter along the shallow coast of Zealand. Monk took eleven of their ships, sunk eight, and blew up two with gunpowder. He took 1300 prisoners, besides killing many of the Dutch sailors. His own loss was not heavy.

This defeat was a fearful blow to the pride of Holland, who had thought to straightway crush the new Commonwealth by her invincible armada. She hastily despatched her ambassadors to England to sue for peace. Cromwell received them imperturbably, and before terms could be arranged another battle occurred.

Holland had made haste to repair her fleet, and by the end of July Tromp was enabled to sail with about eighty ships, and De Witte had twenty-five more. Monk and Blake had for eight weeks blockaded the channels of the Dutch merchantmen at the mouth of the Texel, and on the evening of the 29th they cleared for a decisive action. Monk issued an order, containing all of Cromwell's spirit of war, that "no English ship should surrender to the enemy, and that they should accept no surrender of the vessels against which they fought. Their business was not to take ships, but to sink and destroy to the extent of their power." On the first day of the battle night came before anything decisive had been done. On the second

day, the wind was so high that each fleet was busy in its own preservation. On the third day, which was Sunday, July 31st, the engagement was resumed with great fury, when a musket ball struck the illustrious Van Tromp, and he fell dead on the deck of his ship. This irretrievable disaster broke the spirits of the Dutch. They fled again, but with greater loss than before. Nearly thirty of their ships were burned or sunk, a large number of seamen was killed, and 1200 of them were taken prisoners. The English had 500 killed and 800 wounded.¹

These victories threw the English people into ecstasies of delight. "The sovereignty of the seas," which England had long claimed, was now conceded to her prowess. The Navigation Act which had produced the war was allowed to stand.² Cromwell proposed the novel plan of a maritime alliance between Holland and England, but did not press his demand, and soon after the last fight he consented to the terms of a generous peace.

In the meantime young Charles Stuart and his peripatetic Court beheld with detestation and dismay the firm foundations of the Lord Protector's Government. Charles was now in Paris, where the exigencies of his banishment compelled himself and his courtiers actually to suffer both the pangs of hunger and the humiliation of poor clothes.³ In this emergency it natu-

¹ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii., p. 1380; Forster, p. 549.

² This famous act provided that no goods should be imported from Asia, Africa, or America, but in English ships; nor from any part of Europe, except in such vessels as belong to the people of that country, under the like penalty; that no salt fish, whale fins, or oil should be imported, but what was caught or made by the people of England; nor no salt fish to be exported, or carried from one port to another in this nation, but in English vessels. Commodities from the Levant, the East Indies, Spain, or Portugal might be imported from the usual ports or places. The act did not extend to bullion or prize goods, nor to silk or silk wares brought by land from Italy to Ostend, Amsterdam, Newport, Rotterdam, or Middleburg, provided the owners and proprietors, being of the English Commonwealth, first made oath that the goods were bought with the proceeds of English commodities, sold either for money or in trade. The act had a great influence in increasing English commerce.

³ Clarendon's *State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 174. "I do not know," writes Clarendon himself, "that any man is yet dead for want of bread, which really I wonder at. I am sure the King owes for all he hath eaten since April, and I am not

rally occurred to the minds of the distressed Royalists to employ foul means for the destruction of a foe who had proved himself invulnerable in honourable warfare.

With the approval of the wandering heir it was decided that Cromwell must be assassinated. A proclamation purporting to come direct from the hand of Charles was distributed in England, offering a colonel's commission and £500 a year to any soldier who would kill the Lord Protector.¹

Under the cloak of patriotism there are always instruments available for such atrocities. An enthusiastic young Royalist named John Gerard came secretly to England and completed the details of the plot. Cromwell was to be murdered on the road as he passed from Whitehall to Hampton Court, and Charles II. was to be instantly proclaimed. The assassins were in ambush, and Cromwell, who learned of the conspiracy only a few hours before it was to have been consummated, escaped by crossing the water at Putney. He succeeded in capturing Gerard and Vowel, the ringleaders, and some of their confederates. Afraid to risk a trial by jury, the Lord Protector instantly erected one of his high courts of justice before whom the two misguided men were straightway sentenced to death, and they soon after perished on the scaffold.²

A similar attempt at his assassination was made some time later by Miles Sindercomb. Sindercomb had been a zealous soldier in the Parliamentary Army, but had let his sympathies carry him into the councils of the Levellers, and had been condemned to be shot. A pardon was granted to him, and he was allowed to enlist with Monk's Army in Scotland, where his talent for plotting caused him to be cashiered. Returning to

acquainted with one servant of his who hath a pistole in his pocket. Five or six of us eat together one meal a day for a pistole a week ; but all of us owe, for God knows how many weeks, to the poor woman that feeds us." Another writes : " I want shoes and shirts, and the Marquis of Ormond is in no better condition."

¹ Thurloe, vol. ii., p. 248. There are good grounds for doubting the authenticity of this instrument, but in Thurloe (vol. i., p. 708) the Duke of York coolly writes to Charles proposing the full plan of an assassination in language which shows that it had been discussed by Charles in person.

² Whitelock, vol. iv., pp. 110-115.

London, he managed to attach himself to Cromwell's life guard, and for a consideration of £1600, he basely contracted to destroy the Lord Protector. His first plan was to fire his blunderbuss at Cromwell, whom he found to be so well guarded that he was forced to abandon it. He then arranged to set fire to the palace of Whitehall in the night, hoping to suffocate the Deliverer in the conflagration. On Thursday night, January 8, 1657, the sentinel on guard caught the smell of fire, and upon a hasty examination of the premises, discovered a vast quantity of wildfire so placed as to make the destruction of the palace and its inhabitants assured had not the guard been called at once to extinguish it. Cromwell and his Council were quickly called. There was much agitation. Sindercomb was taken and thrust in the Tower. He was soon afterwards tried by a jury, found guilty, and sentenced to death, but cheated the gallows by taking poison the night before the date for his execution (February 13, 1647).¹

In order to prevent such base designs, Cromwell now organised a bureau of information and sent his spies into every corner of Europe, who kept him fully advised not only of the plans of the Royalists, but of their conversation and gossip, so that it was not long before he became familiar with everything that was contrived or said against him in any part of the world. This system of secret intelligence was so exhaustive and universal that it cost Cromwell £60,000 a year to pay his agents.² One of his informants was Sir Richard Willis, a confidant of Lord Clarendon's, and who was considered an able and wise man. Cromwell procured a secret interview with Willis, and assured him that he did not intend to injure any of the King's party; his design was rather to save them from ruin; they were apt, after their cups, he said, to run into foolish and ill-concerted plots, which would only bring them to disaster. All he desired was to be informed of their plots so that none might suffer for them, and if he cast any of them into prison, it should

¹ Merc. Pol., *Cromwelliana*, p. 162.

² Hume, vol v., p. 468. See the Intercepted Letters and Letters of Intelligence on nearly every page of Thurloe's volumes.

only be for a short period ; and if they were interrogated, it should be about some trifling discourse, but not about the main business. Willis accepted £2000 a year, and his secret revelations to Cromwell kept the Royalist party in amazement as to the quickness with which the Lord Protector followed up all their plotting.¹

Once, the Duke of Richmond, who had stood high in the confidence of Charles I., asked Cromwell's leave to travel abroad, which was granted on the explicit condition that he would not see the royal heir. When the Duke returned he presented himself before the Lord Protector, who demanded to know whether he had strictly observed his promise, and was answered by the Duke that he had not seen young Charles. Cromwell inquired, "When you met Charles Stuart, who put out the candles?" The Duke was too much startled to reply. "And what," continued Oliver, "did Charles Stuart say to you?" Richmond protested that nothing confidential had passed. "Did he not give you a letter?" The Duke said No. Then Oliver, with a scorn which may easily be imagined, cried out : "The letter was sewed into the lining of your hat !" He seized the hat, discovered the treasonable paper, and sent the Duke to the Tower.²

After Gerard's futile attempt on his life, and in view of the further discussions of his murder which were reported to him in every post, Cromwell told the Royalists openly, that assassinations were base and odious, and he never would begin such shameful practices ; but he warned them that if the first provocation came from them, he would retaliate and would never stop until he had exterminated the royal family. But he was alarmed for his safety from these cowardly foes. While he wore no secret armour, he carried weapons for his defence, and his old mother never heard a gun fired in the Park without sending hastily to inquire whether Oliver was killed.

About this time³ an accident occurred from which Cromwell

¹ Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, vol. i., p. 101.

² Welwood. Ludlow. Godwin, vol. iv., p. 506.

³ Friday, 29th September, 1654.

narrowly escaped a painful death. The Count of Oldenburgh had presented him with six fine Friesland coach horses, and Cromwell intrepidly attempted to drive them through Hyde Park. The exhilaration of the drive encouraged him to apply his whip with too much freedom, whereupon the spirited beasts sprang away from his control, and he was thrown from the box upon the pole between them and dragged some distance, but finally disengaged himself and fell to the ground without serious hurt.¹ In his fall a pistol which he carried in his pocket was discharged, which betrayed to his guards the haunting sense of danger that oppressed him.

Cromwell's fearlessness of the anger of foreign Courts was disclosed in his treatment of Don Pataleon Sa, a brother of the Portuguese Ambassador. A quarrel had occurred between the Don and an English gentleman; and the former, with some of his compatriots from the Embassy, while lying in wait for the Englishman in the dusk of evening, attacked the first-comer, and assassinated the wrong man. Don Pantaleon then fled to the Embassy and claimed an Ambassador's privilege from arrest. But Cromwell ordered him to be seized, in defiance of the law of nations, defining for himself the ambassadorial privilege as extending only to the Ambassador in person and not to his suite. The Portuguese Minister pleaded for his brother's pardon; but the Lord Protector was inexorable. In the meantime a treaty of peace between England and Portugal was under consideration, and on the very day that the Portuguese Ambassador, in the depths of human woe, signed this treaty, his erring brother was beheaded on the scaffold by Cromwell's order.² This bold vindication of the law gave great satisfaction to the people.

To show the dominant will and fixed purposes of Cromwell, we copy this letter to Thurloe which serves formal notice upon all the place-holders in England that the Lord Protector will write no recommendation or suggestion but it must be instantly obeyed :

¹ Despatches from the Dutch Ambassadors, in Forster, p. 585.

² Whitelock, vol. iv., pp. 49, 115, 120.

" To Mr. Secretary THURLOE.

" WHITEHALL, 28th July, 1655.

" You receive from me, this 28th instant, a Petition from Margery Beacham, desiring the admission of her Son into the Charterhouse ; whose Husband was employed one day in an important secret service, which he did effectually, to our great benefit and the Commonwealth's.

" I have wrote under it a common Reference to the Commissioners ; but I mean a great deal more : That it shall be done, without their debate or consideration of the matter. And so do you privately hint to ———. I have not the particular shining bauble for crowds to gaze at or kneel to, but—To be short, I know how to deny Petitions ; and whatever I think proper, for outward form, to 'refer' to any Officer or Office, I expect that such my compliance with custom shall be looked upon as an indication of my will and pleasure to have the thing *done*. Thy true friend.

" OLIVER P."¹

Cromwell's power now surpassed that of any ruler in Europe, and his state was equal to the most magnificent. Ambassadors from every nation crowded the waiting-rooms of his palaces. His family was established at Whitehall in regal luxury. His mother had its choicest apartments. With him were his wife and three of his daughters,—Elizabeth, his favourite ; Mary, "the handsome likeness of himself" ; and Frances, his youngest, affectionately called "Frank" in the domestic circle, and looked upon by all the gossips of Europe as soon to wed Charles II. But when the Earl of Orrery suggested this match to Oliver, the Protector answered that the King could never forgive his father's blood. Orrery urged that Cromwell was but one among many who had brought the King to the block, but with this marriage he would be alone in restoring him, and he might stipulate to still command the Army. Cromwell replied that Charles "is so damnably debauched that he would undo us all."² And there the matter ended. Mrs. Hutchinson, Cromwell's bitter foe, says of him at this period : "To speak the truth of himself, he had much natural greatness, and well became the place he had usurped."

Sir Philip Warwick, a staunch Cavalier, said : "I lived to see him [Cromwell] appear of a great and majestic deportment, and

¹ Carlyle, vol. iii., p. 27.

² Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, vol. i., p. 107.

comely presence." Even Lord Clarendon, the most partial of Royalists, wrote of him : " As he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had concealed his faculties till he had occasion to use them ; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom." Lord Digby's "Sloven" had now indeed become, in verification of Hampden's prophecy, the greatest man in England.

The purity of this Puritan's Court was an unusual thing amidst the luxury and splendour of his station. A writer of the times observes that " whereas formerly it was very difficult to live at Court without a prejudice to religion, it is now impossible to be a courtier without it." ¹ Dr. Bates says : " His own Court was regulated according to a severe discipline ; here no drunkard, nor lewd-liver, nor any guilty of bribery, was to be found, without severe punishment." ² Whitelock relates that when he informed Cromwell of the Queen of Sweden's plan to visit England, the Lord Protector would give her no encouragement, placing his objection upon the ill example she would give by her course of life ; and no diplomatic reasoning would induce him to alter his determination. A Danish Ambassador came to England and was received by Cromwell with marks of great favour until it was made known that he was a man of evil habits, whereupon the Lord Protector refused to have further intercourse with him, and the Dane was forced to return to his own country. Milton says of Cromwell :

" He was a soldier disciplined to perfection in a knowledge of himself. He had either extinguished, or by habit learned to subdue, the whole host of vain hopes, fears, and passions which infest the soul. He first acquired the government of himself . . . so that on the first day he took the field against the external enemy, he was a veteran in arms."

It was in the banqueting-room at Whitehall that the Lord Protector received the Ambassadors. He stood on a raised platform three steps higher than the floor, before a chair of

¹ *The Unparalleled Monarch*, London, 1659, p. 70.

² Harris' *Life of Cromwell*, p. 418.

state. Each Ambassador was required to make an obeisance three times, the first at the entrance, the second midway, and the third at the foot of the platform; which Cromwell would acknowledge by a slight bow of his head.

On the declaration of peace between Holland and England, the Dutch Ambassador, after describing the manifestations of popular joy, writes to his Government of a State dinner given to him by the Lord Protector, and speaks thus of Cromwell's manners:

"The music played all the time we were at dinner. The Lord Protector had us into another room, where the Lady Protectrice and others came to us, where we had also music and voices, and a psalm sung, which His Highness gave us, and told us that it was yet the best paper that had been exchanged between us. And from thence we were had into a gallery next the river, where we walked with His Highness about half-an-hour, and then took our leaves. My Lord Protector showed a great deal of kindness to my wife and daughter in particular."

As required by his *Instrument of Government*, Cromwell issued writs calling the Parliament to meet on the 3d of September, 1654. Soon afterwards, he went in great pomp to London, where he was entertained at dinner by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. At the conclusion of the feast the Lord Protector, exercising for the first time this prerogative of royalty, conferred the honour of knighthood upon the Lord Mayor, and graciously presented him with his own sword which he took from his belt for that purpose.¹

Cromwell's engagement to call a free Parliament was an extremely hazardous matter. The only electors who had been disfranchised were those who had borne arms against the Parliament in the late wars. This left the great majority of Englishmen free to vote, and to most of them Cromwell's yoke was irksome and hateful. The Episcopalians of course despised him; so, likewise, did the Presbyterians. The Republicans had turned from him, suspicious of his integrity. The fanatics—the Fifth Monarchy men and the Anabaptists—regarded him as one fallen from grace. To give these men the

¹ Whitelock, vol. iv.

power of calling a Parliament which was to hold an authority co-ordinate with himself in the Government, taxed the fortitude of a man so great as Cromwell. But he was hopeful of establishing at least the forms of a constitutional government. He intended, if the nation would be pliable to his views of policy, to bestow upon his countrymen a representative government, under which all measures for the public good should receive their consent in Parliament.

The Parliament met according to the call. In the assembly were Richard and Henry Cromwell, Whitelock; Lenthall, the old Speaker; General Skippon, Sir Francis Rouse; Lord Herbert, the son of the Marquis of Worcester; Dr. Owen, of Oxford; many officers of the Army, Fleetwood, Lambert, and Claypole. More prominently, there were Lord Fairfax, Bradshaw, Hazell, and old Sir Harry Vane,—the son staying sulkily at home.

In all there were three hundred and forty Englishmen, thirty Scots, and thirty Irish, a total of four hundred members.

The 3d of September was Sunday,—the Lord Protector's Fortunate Day, and he had insisted on calling the Parliament together on that day. The formal opening of the House did not take place until the next day. Cromwell rode in State from Whitehall. Several hundred gentlemen and officers went before him bareheaded; likewise his life guard and the servants of his household. On one side of his coach was Sir Walter Strickland, the captain of his guard. On the other side was Colonel Charles Howard. Henry Cromwell and Lambert sat in the coach with him, both uncovered. After him came Claypole, his son-in-law and Master of the Horse, with a led horse richly caparisoned. Next were the officers of the Government, including the Commissioners of the Treasury and of the Seal. After hearing a sermon in Westminster Abbey, the Lord Protector, with the same following, proceeded to the Painted Chamber, and inaugurated his Parliament.¹

He made them a speech which no other man could imitate. It was full of fervid piety, of rugged eloquence, of wise states-

¹ Whitelock, vol. iv., p. 133.

manship, of political instruction. His sentences must sometimes have sounded rambling and obscure. His oratory suggests that he started a pregnant sentence with his mind so concentrated on his thought that his words would in spite of himself become tangled and involved. It is not so with his letters, which are usually models of clear expression. But notwithstanding this grave defect in his speeches, it requires no serious mental strain to follow his ideas, which are at all times uppermost.

He told his Parliament that they were met on the greatest occasion that England ever saw, and that they had on their shoulders the interests of all the Christian people in the world. It would have been beyond all their thoughts, some months since, after so many changes and turnings as the nation had laboured under, to have such a day of hope as that was. He devoutly quoted David's Psalm : "Many, O Lord, my God, are thy wonderful works which thou hast done, and thy thoughts which are to-us-ward ; they cannot be reckoned up in order unto thee ; if I would declare and speak of them, they are more than can be numbered." He referred to the lesson that Dr. Goodwin had preached to them that morning,—of Israel's bringing out of Egypt through a wilderness by many signs and wonders, towards a place of rest. But he deftly reminded them that it was thus far only *towards it*. He then passed to the miseries of the late wars, and attacked the theories of the Levellers in desiring the extirpation of social distinctions. He said that a nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman, had been the ranks and orders of Englishmen for hundreds of years. He spoke of the driving-out of Anti-Christ, by which he meant Popery, and Dr. Laud's imitations of Popery. He praised the liberty of conscience and the liberty of the subject as two things as glorious as God had given them, but severely censured those fanatics who prated of liberty to such an extent that they inveighed against the printing of the Bible, lest it should be unfairly imposed upon the consciences of men. The Presbyterians had formerly caused the axe to be laid at the foot of an irresponsible pulpit, so that no man might preach unless ordained. Now, there were many who looked upon an ordained preacher, no matter how holy and pious he might be, with contempt. He criticised this condition as exhibiting too much of an imposing spirit in matters of conscience ;—"a spirit," said he, "unchristian enough in any times, most unfit for these times, denying liberty of conscience to men who have earned it with their blood !"

He reviewed with a broad charity some of the worst features of the prevailing sectarianism. He dwelt upon the Fifth Monarchy notion,—that, after the reign of Nebuchadnezzar in Assyria, of Cyrus in Persia, of Alexander in Greece, and of the Cæsars in Rome, Jesus Christ himself should reign on earth through his saints for a thousand years. He said patiently that they could all honour the notion that Christ would have a time to set up his reign in their hearts, by subduing those corruptions, and lusts, and evils that are there ; "which," he added with grim wisdom,

"now reign more in the world than, I hope, in due time they shall do. And when more fullness of the Spirit is poured forth to subdue iniquity, and bring-in everlasting righteousness, then will the approach of that glory be." It was General Harrison whom he was attacking here,—his former friend, but now, as the leader of these very Fifth Monarchy men, denouncing Cromwell as an usurper, until the Lord Protector had been forced to put him under restraint. "If the magistrate," said he, indicating himself, "by punishing visible miscarriages, save them by that discipline, God having ordained him for that end,—I hope it will evidence love and not hatred, so as to punish where there is cause."

He denounced those who proclaimed that liberty and property are not the badges of the Kingdom of Christ, and that laws, instead of being regulated, should be abrogated and subverted. During the recent troubles, when family was against family, husband against wife, parents against children, and there was nothing in the hearts and minds of men but "Overturn, overturn, overturn!"—the common enemy slept not! The emissaries of the Jesuits never came in such swarms as they had done since those things had been set on foot. They had attempted to pervert and deceive the people.

Passing from this mournful review of the religious differences of his people, Cromwell made some references to the condition of foreign affairs. He told them of the peace with Holland, of the danger of a war with France unless she abated somewhat her contemptuous bearing towards this young Commonwealth! A desirable alliance had been formed with Sweden, another with Denmark. France and Spain, their Catholic neighbours, they could expect no good from. English ships were now sovereign on the seas. He had made peace with Portugal, by which many commercial advantages were secured to England, but above all, he had exacted that for his countrymen, which had never been granted to Protestants in that country before—the privilege of liberty of conscience, and to worship in chapels of their own. "There is not a nation in Europe," he said, "but is very willing to ask a good understanding with you."

One thing more his Government had done—it had called together this free Parliament; he repeated the words, a free Parliament.

He then came to the great question of taxes—always a burning question in troublous times. He spoke of the charges for the Army, and the expenditure of £120,000 a month for the Navy. All forfeited lands had been sold—the King's, Queen's, Bishops', Dean-and-Chapters' lands; still much more money was needed. The bounteous mercies of God which he had pointed out to them but indicated the entrances and doors of hope, "whereby, through the blessing of God, you *may* enter into rest and peace. But you are not yet entered! You were told to-day," he continued, in words which exhibited his anxious hope for a good understanding with this Parliament, "of a people brought out of Egypt towards the land of Canaan; but through unbelief, murmuring, repining, and other temptations and sins wherewith God was provoked, they were fain to come back again, and linger many years in the wilderness before they came to the Place of Rest. *We* are thus far, through the mercy of God. We have cause to take notice of it, that we are not brought into misery, but have, as I said before, a door of hope open. And I may say this to you: If the Lord's blessing and His presence go along with the

management of affairs at this meeting, you will be enabled to put the topstone to the work, and make the nation happy. But this must be by knowing the true state of affairs And therefore I wish that you may go forward, and not backward; and that you may have the blessing of God upon your endeavours. It's one of the great ends of calling this Parliament, that the Ship of the Commonwealth may be brought into a safe harbour; which, I assure you, it will not be, without your counsel and advice. . . . I do therefore persuade you to a sweet, gracious and holy understanding of one another, and of your business." He concluded by telling them that he had not spoken these things as one who assumed dominion over them, but as one who had resolved to be their fellow-servant, for the welfare of the people.¹

There was general satisfaction with the matter of his speech, and murmurs of approbation were heard from every part of the hall. But the people were not ready to turn their backs upon the flesh-pots of Egypt.

It is notable that Cromwell did not claim the prerogative usually observed by the Sovereign in naming a Speaker for the Parliament. When, therefore, he had withdrawn, and the members had assembled in their own House, the selection of a Speaker was their first task. Cromwell's friends—to be known henceforth as the Court party—named Lenthall for the office. An Opposition party was instantly unmasked through a counter-proposal to elect Bradshaw. But there was no serious contest, and Lenthall, the famous Speaker of the Long Parliament, took the chair.

It was clearly the duty of this Parliament, having consented to assemble under the *Instrument of Government*, to raise no question concerning the authority under which they sat. To attack Cromwell's right to call them together would obviously destroy their own authority as representatives, and change their condition from that of a free Parliament into that of an irresponsible convention. By accepting Cromwell's dictatorship as the natural result of his conquest in their behalf over an anciently established Government, they might have enjoyed the distinguished honour of settling the nation in peace and prosperity on the conditions which he pressed upon them. But following on the heels of a sanguinary rebellion, in the

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 397.

midst of a great revolution, with the smoking embers of the people's rage threatening to change the present confusion into a more dreadful anarchy,—with this situation confronting them the Parliament fell to debating constitutional principles, at a time when constitutional principles could mean nothing but the maxims of the existing Government.

On the second day of their sitting Bradshaw moved that they should form themselves into a Committee of the Whole, to deliberate on the question whether the Parliament should approve of the system of government by a single person and a Parliament, as provided for in *The Instrument of Government*. The motion led to a fierce debate, and was carried by a majority of five votes,—a defeat for the Lord Protector. All through the week the contest raged and on Monday of the next week. Bradshaw, Hazelrig, and Scott were marshalling a formidable Republican party to attack the dictatorship. Oliver had defied the lightning before; he perceived the necessity for doing so once again.

On Tuesday morning, the 12th of September, 1654, when the members came to the House, they found that during the preceding night Cromwell's soldiers had taken possession of all the principal posts in the city. Those who made an effort to enter the House were told by armed guards that the doors were locked, but that they might repair to the Painted Chamber, where the Lord Protector desired to meet them. Thither they all presently gathered, being moved with varied emotions of curiosity, indignation, or despair. He had bound himself by solemn oath not to interfere with their sitting for five months. But what was he now about to do?

Cromwell began to address them with a grave and sorrowful demeanour, rousing himself at times into flashes of fire, of scorn and anger, and then relapsing into a deep melancholy which seemed to overwhelm his soul.

He told them it was not long since he had met them there, on an occasion which gave him much more content. He had told them then that they were a free Parliament. And so they were, whilst they would acknowledge the Government and

authority which called them thither. But certainly that word, free Parliament, implied a reciprocation or it implied nothing at all. He had always been of this mind, since he first entered upon his office. If God will not bear it up, let it sink! He then made a declaration which astonished many of those who were charging all the existing ills to his ambition.

"I called not myself to this place. I say again, I called not myself to this place! Of that God is witness:—and I have many witnesses, who, I do believe, could lay down their lives bearing witness to the truth of that; namely, that I called not myself to this place. And being in it, I bear not witness to myself, (or my office) but God and the people of these nations have also borne testimony to it and me. *If* my calling be from God, and my testimony from the people,—God and the people shall take it from me, else I will not part with it! I should be false to the trust that God hath placed in me, and to the interest of the people of these nations, if I did."

Very dramatic was Oliver, always,—either when fighting his battles, or in those sterner duties when he was breaking the backs of his Parliaments.

He told them how he had come to his present elevation. "I was by birth a gentleman; living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity. I have been called to several employments in the nation: To serve in Parliament, and others; and—not to be overtedious—I did endeavour to discharge the duty of an honest man, in those services, to God and his People's interest, and to the Commonwealth." He referred to various occasions on which he believed himself to have been the special instrument of God's Providences, and told them that having seen the wars ended, he had hoped in a private capacity to enjoy the fruits of their conquests. But after the battle of Worcester he had discovered the design of the Long Parliament to perpetuate itself. He himself had been tempted by some of its eminent members to connive at their intentions, by which vacancies were to be supplied by new elections, and the House to sit from generation to generation. That Parliament had been dissolved. Hoping then that a few might settle the affairs of the nation, he had called the Little Parliament, and had desired to lay down his power into their hands! "I say to you

again," he solemnly asseverated, "in the presence of that God who hath blessed, and been with me in all my adversities and successes: That was, as to myself, my greatest end! A desire perhaps, I am afraid, sinful enough, to be quit of the power God had most clearly by this Providence put into my hands, before he called me to lay it down; before those honest ends of our fighting were attained and settled,—I say, the authority I had in my hand being so boundless as it was,—for, by Act of Parliament, I was General of all the forces in the three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland; in which unlimited condition I did not desire to live a day,—we called that meeting, for the ends before expressed."

The Little Parliament had re-consigned to his hands the power he had delivered unto them, and had dissolved. Then there was no Government. The officers of the Army had drawn up the existing model without his knowledge, and had pressed him to accept the chief place. He had long refused to do this until they convinced him that *The Instrument of Government*, instead of advancing his power, which he already possessed, would limit him to a co-ordinate authority with a free Parliament. He told them that his consent to this request had drawn forth the congratulations of noblemen, gentlemen, and yeomen throughout the country. But they,—his hearers,—to sit and not own the authority by which they sat, astonished more men than himself.

He told them that there were certain fundamental principles which were deeper than the law. The government by a single person and a Parliament was a fundamental. That Parliaments should not make themselves perpetual was a fundamental. Liberty of conscience in religion was a fundamental. The control of the sword by the Supreme Magistrate *and* the Parliament was a fundamental.

There were other things, he said, which were circumstantial. The present Army of thirty thousand men could be reduced to fifteen thousand if they would but unite to compose the spirits of the people. But they must accept the Government as then established so that succeeding Parliaments would not

forever try to alter it. And rather than throw away the Government, which had been acknowledged by God and approved by men, he would be willing to be rolled into his grave and buried with infamy.

There was no room for doubting the spirit of a man who could speak thus to four hundred members of Parliament! He is coming to the point now.

He told them that he had proposed to himself to obtain an acknowledgment of the full authority of *The Instrument of Government*, and of his own powers under that *Instrument*, before permitting them originally to assemble. He had not done so. What he had forborne to do upon a just confidence at first, they necessitated him unto now. As the authority which called them together was so little valued, and so much slighted, he had caused a stop to be put to their entrance into the Parliament House, until they should testify their consent to the existing Government. "I am sorry!" he cried, "I am sorry! And I could be sorry to the death that there is cause for this! But there *is* cause. And if things be not satisfied which are reasonably demanded, I, for my part, will do that which becomes *me*, seeking my counsel from God." He informed them that there was a parchment in the Lobby, without the Parliament door, which he required them all to sign before they might resume their Parliamentary privileges, which bound them to be true to him as Lord Protector, and to preserve the Government in a Single Person and a Parliament. If they would but do this he reminded them that they had power to pass laws without his consent, and that he would cheerfully permit them to limit his own prerogatives in anything that would tend to the preservation of the cause and interest so long contended for.¹

When he had finished, about a hundred withdrew to the Lobby and signed the Acknowledgment. Within a few days some two hundred others signed. The rabid Republicans—Bradshaw, Hazelrig, Scott, and a hundred others—turned their backs on Oliver and on his Parliament, and went their ways in

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 419.

deep anger. The reduced and circumscribed Parliament resumed its debates, talked of religion, investigated some "scandals" in the pulpit, and then fell again to debating everlastingly of constitutional rule. Abraham Cowley, the poet, inquired about that time: "Did we fight for liberty against our Prince, that we might become slaves to our servant?"

But while Oliver sat impatiently at hand, forced to perceive in their pedagogic contumacy the certain failure of his fond scheme for a co-ordinate Parliament, an event occurred in his own household which bowed his head with deepest sorrow. His mother was ninety-four years old. She had watched her son's career with a mother's anxiety for its dangers. Ludlow says: "At the sound of a musket she would often be afraid her son was shot, and could not be satisfied unless she saw him once a day at least."¹ On the 16th of November, 1654, the dear old woman was called home. Cromwell sat at her bedside; his great soul had never known a bereavement like this. A little before her death she gave him her blessing in these words,—we can almost see the fading eyes and hear the sweet voice across two centuries: "The Lord cause His face to shine upon you, and comfort you in all your adversities, and enable you to do great things for the glory of your Most High God, and to be a relief unto His people. My dear son, I leave my heart with thee. A good night!" And so she passed away.

The Pedant Parliament accomplished nothing. It ignored Oliver, it ignored the national necessities. It spent the time in idle words. In Scotland the pay of the soldiers was thirty weeks in arrears and there was some talk among them of displacing General Monk, choosing the fanatic Overton to command them, and marching into England to adjust grievances themselves. Even this prospect did not move the Parliament to patriotic action. No scheme of taxation was devised to meet this issue. But Oliver sent for Overton to come to Whitehall, and, when he came, he put him in the Tower. By *The Instrument of Government* he must wait five months on this Parliament to finish its business. It seemed that the time

¹ Ludlow, vol. ii., p. 488.

would never pass. Meanwhile their debates kept up, and other persons were beginning to repeat their talk of constitutional rule. There was real danger from Royalist plots; yet they never heeded it. Oliver was visibly irritated. Some one suggested that five months need not mean five calendar months. The soldiers were paid by months of four weeks, or twenty-eight days. This was enough. On Monday morning, January 22, 1655, he summoned them before him. They felt secure for twelve days longer, and wondered what he would now say.

More in sorrow than in anger he addressed them. There was no disguise in the words in which he told them of their failure. He told them that instead of peace and settlement,—instead of mercy and truth being brought together, and righteousness and peace kissing each other, to reconcile the people of these nations, only weeds and nettles, briers and thorns had thriven under the shadow of their tree. Attempts had been made to undermine the loyalty of the Army. In some quarters a mutinous spirit had appeared. The Cavalier party were already arming for another uprising. But the State had received no succour from the Parliament. “I do not know,” he said, with fine scorn, “whether you have been alive or dead. I have not once heard from you all this time; I have not: and that you all know.” He criticised them for the time they had spent in debating against an hereditary succession. If the hereditary principle had been inserted in *The Instrument of Government*, he declared that he would have rejected it. “I can say that no particular interest, either of myself, estate, honour, or family, are, or have been, prevalent with me to this undertaking.” He quoted from Ecclesiastes: “Who knoweth whether he may beget a fool or a wise man?” Then came an expression of that constant belief that the Divinity of Christ was identified with England’s present Government, and that he himself was God’s especial servant for the work in hand. He said, in one of his enthusiastic bursts:

“Supposing this cause, or this business must be carried on, it is either of God, or of man. If it be of man, I would I had never touched it with a finger. If I had not had a hope fixed in me that this cause and this business was of God, I

would many years ago have run from it. If it be of God, He will bear it up. If it be of man, it will tumble ; as everything that hath been of man since the world began hath done. And what are all our histories, and other traditions of actions in former times, but God manifesting Himself, that he hath shaken, and tumbled down and trampled upon, everything that He had not planted ? And if this is so, let the All-Wise God deal with it. If this be of human structure and invention, and if it be an old plotting and contriving to bring things to this issue, and that they are not the births of Providence,—then they will tumble. But if the Lord take pleasure in England, and if He will do us good,—He is very able to bear us up ! Let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall in His strength be able to encounter with them. And I bless God I have been inured to difficulties ; and I never found God failing when I trusted in Him. I can laugh and sing, in my heart, when I speak of these things to you or elsewhere.”

He answered some of the charges that had been made against his “cunning,” and his “ambition,” protesting that he had at the first and now acted only from an urgent necessity. Then came this amazing conclusion :

“ I think myself bound, as in my duty to God, and to the people of these nations, for their safety and good in every respect,—I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these nations nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer. And therefore I do declare unto you that I do dissolve this Parliament.”¹

The Pedant Parliament disappeared; and Cromwell’s cherished plan of governing England under constitutional forms was simultaneously dissolved.

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii., p. 451





CHAPTER XXIV.

THE MAJOR-GENERALS—FOREIGN POLICY.

Cromwell Appoints his Generals to Govern England—Royalist Outbreak Suppressed—Letters—Cromwell's Prestige in Foreign Courts—Forms an Alliance with France—Massacre of the People of the Valleys—Cromwell Intercedes for them—His Foreign Policy Examined—War with Spain—Capture of Jamaica—Personally Directs his Navy—The Pope Afraid of Cromwell—Exploits of Admiral Blake—Cromwell's Opinion of Catholic States—Victory at Dunkirk.

WHEN the English nation, by the failure of its Parliament, refused to give its assent to Cromwell's policy of State, it forced him to become, through the necessities of a sanguinary revolution, theoretically, and in the best interpretation of the words, a usurper, a tyrant, and a despot.

We do not mean that he was a usurper as Richard the Third was a usurper, seizing the chief place in the State because of the splendour of its robes and the glitter of its Crown. We do not mean that he was a tyrant as Henry the Eighth was a tyrant, making his own will the law of his people because he derived the most pleasure in making his own will paramount. We do not mean that he was a despot as Ivan the Terrible was a despot, sacrificing human life with gleeful persistence, because in killing his subjects he demonstrated his personal power. He was a usurper because the law as it stood provided for the succession of another ruler. He was a tyrant because the necessities of the revolution required him to meet desperate emergencies with prompt and bold expedients. He was a despot because he occupied his high place unrecognised by the law and maintained his Government by force. But even in the front of such a startling paradox, we maintain that, as usurper,

tyrant, and despot, Cromwell stood for the liberties of the people against the encroachments of Church and State under the forms of law. And it was the inspiration of all his labours to hope that a free Parliament might in time be assembled, which would gratefully accept the Commonwealth he had established and consent to maintain it for posterity.

His most obnoxious exercise of supreme authority was the establishment of his oppressive system of the Major-Generals. The avenues of secret intelligence which brought to his ears the faintest whispers of treason whenever and by whomever they were spoken, had been employed recently by the Protector to divine the latest plots for his overthrow. Royalists and Republicans were hand in hand in these enterprises. Charles Stuart had come to the Dutch sea-coast to be in readiness to invade England whenever it might be safe for him to do so. Lord Clarendon, his Chancellor, expressed himself as being "cock-sure" of their uprising.¹ The place appointed for the first outbreak was Yorkshire, where Sir Henry Slingsby and Lord Malevrier were seized and sent to prison before they could make much headway. The next effort was made in the south of England. On Sunday night, March 11, 1655, about two hundred Cavaliers, led by Sir Joseph Wagstaff, Colonel Penruddock, and Major Grove, entered the city of Salisbury, and seized the judges and the high sheriff and his deputies in their beds. The next morning they commanded the sheriff to proclaim King Charles. He refused; said he would be hanged first. Failing to obtain the popular support which they had expected, they returned towards Cornwall. Captain Unton Crook pursued them, overtook them at three o'clock in the morning at South Moulton in Devonshire, smote them fiercely, and ended their insurrection. Wagstaff escaped. Penruddock and Grove, two very gallant Cavaliers, were tried by jury, found guilty, and beheaded. Many of their followers were hanged; many others were sent as slaves to Barbadoes.²

¹ This plot was betrayed to Cromwell by one Manning, a Royalist attached to the King's retinue, whom the Protector had corrupted with English gold. His treachery was discovered and he was shot by order of the King.

² Whitelock, vol. iv., p. 188; Thurloe, vol. iii., pp. 394, 445.

So quick was Cromwell to stamp out these seditious fires that active plotting ceased from that time forward. Not even the chivalrous devotion of the old Cavaliers to the royal cause could henceforth impel them to lead their undisciplined household servants against the trained soldiery who now occupied every county in England. But Cromwell was not content with having crushed them. He determined to sap their life energies; and with this purpose in his mind he divided England into twelve military divisions and appointed the chief officers of his Army to command therein as Major-Generals.¹

Fleetwood, who became one of the Major-Generals, had married Ireton's widow, Bridget Cromwell, and had been appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. But Fleetwood was not the man for Ireland, and the piercing eye of Cromwell soon perceived that a bolder hand must guide the policy in that country. Still he was not ready to displace Fleetwood without a further trial of his parts, but he sent Henry Cromwell on a service of inspection to Ireland, in order that he might obtain a trustworthy account of the State's business there; and wrote thus to Fleetwood:

“ WHITEHALL, 22d June, 1655.

“ DEAR CHARLES:

“ I write not often; at once I desire thee to know I most dearly love thee, and indeed my heart is plain to thee as thy heart can well desire; let nothing shake thee in this. The wretched jealousies that are amongst us, and the spirit of cal-

¹ Following is the list: Major-General Desborough (his brother-in-law), for the counties of Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall; Major-General Kelsey, Kent and Surrey; Major-General Goffe, Sussex, Hants, Berks; Major-General Skippon, London; Major-General Barkstead (Governor of the Tower), Middlesex and Westminster; Major-General Fleetwood (his son-in-law, Lord Deputy for Ireland, recalled, and Harry Cromwell sent in his place), Oxford, Bucks, Herts, Cambridge, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk,—for the last four he can appoint a substitute; Major-General Whalley (his cousin), Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick, Leicester; Major-General Butler, Northampton, Bedford, Rutland, Huntingdon; Major-General Berry (Richard Baxter's *Saint's Rest's* friend, once a clerk in the Shropshire Iron Works), Hereford, Salop, North Wales; Major-General Dawkins (of the Navy), Monmouth and South Wales; Major-General Worseley, Cheshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire; Major-General Lambert, York, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland.

umny turn all into gall and wormwood. My heart is for the People of God ; that the Lord knows, and will in due time manifest, yet thence are my wounds,—which though it grieves me, yet through the grace of God doth not discourage me totally. Many good men are repining at everything, though indeed very many good are well satisfied, and satisfying daily. The will of the Lord will bring forth good in due time.

“ It 's reported that you are to be sent for, and Harry to be Deputy, which truly never entered into my heart. The Lord knows, my desire was for him and his Brother to have lived private lives in the country ; and Harry knows this very well, and how difficultly I was persuaded to give him his commission for his present place. This I say as from a simple and sincere heart. The noise of my being crowned, etc. are similar malicious figments.

“ Use this Bearer, Mr. Brewster, kindly. Let him be near you : indeed he is a very able holy man ; trust me you will find him so. He was a bosom-friend of Mr. Tillinghurst ; ask him of him ; you will thereby know Mr. Tillinghurst's spirit. This Gentleman brought him to me a little before he died, and Mr. Cradock ;—Mr. Throughton, a godly minister being by, with Mr. Tillinghurst himself, who cried ‘ Shame ! ’

“ Dear Charles, my dear love to thee ; and to my dear Biddy, who is a joy to my heart, for what I hear of the Lord in her. Bid her be cheerful, and rejoice in the Lord once and again : if she knows the Covenant of Grace, she cannot but do so. For that Transaction is without *her* ; sure and steadfast, between the Father and the Mediator in His blood ; therefore, leaning upon the Son, or looking to Him, thirsting after Him, and embracing Him, we are His Seed ; and the Covenant is sure to all the Seed. The Compact is for the Seed ; God is bound in faithfulness to Christ, and in Him to us ; the Covenant is without *us* ; a Transaction between God and Christ. Look up to *it*. God engageth in it to pardon us ; to write His Law in our heart ; to plant His fear so that we shall never depart from him. We, under all our sins and infirmities, can daily offer a perfect Christ ; and thus we have peace and safety, and apprehension of love, from a Father in Covenant,—who cannot deny Himself. And truly in this is all my salvation ; and this helps me to bear my great burdens.

“ If you have a mind to come over with your dear Wife, etc., take the best opportunity for the good of the Public and your own convenience. The Lord bless you all. Pray for me, that the Lord would direct, and keep me His servant. I bless the Lord I am not my own ;—but my condition to flesh and blood is very hard. Pray for me ; I do for you all. Commend me to all friends. I rest, your loving father,

“ OLIVER P.”¹

But in January of the next year Fleetwood came to London to join Whitelock and others in the custody of the Treasury, and Henry Cromwell was appointed Lord Deputy to Ireland, and he conducted a vigorous but patient and magnanimous

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. iii., p. 24. *Thurloe*, vol. iii., p. 572.

administration there. Cromwell counselled his son in these sagacious words :

“For my Son **HENRY CROMWELL**, at Dublin, Ireland.

“WHITEHALL, 21st November, 1655.

“SON :

“I have seen your Letter writ unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe ; and do find thereby that you are very apprehensive of the carriage of some persons with you, towards yourself and the public affairs.

“I do believe there may be some particular persons who are not very well pleased with the present condition of things, and may be apt to show their discontent as they have opportunity : but this should not make too great impressions in you. Time and patience may work them to a better frame of spirit, and bring them to see that which, for the present, seems to be hid from them ; especially if they shall see your moderation and love towards them, if they are found in other ways towards you. Which I earnestly desire you to study and endeavour, all that lies in you. Whereof both you and I too shall have the comfort, whatsoever the issue and event thereof be.

“For what you write of more help, I have long endeavoured it ; and shall not be wanting to send you some farther addition to the Council, so soon as men can be found out who are fit for the trust. I am also thinking of sending over to you a fit person who may command the North of Ireland ; which I believe stands in great need of one ; and I am of your opinion that Trevor and Colonel Mervin are very dangerous persons, and may be made the heads of a new rebellion. And therefore I would have you move the Council that they be secured in some very safe place, and the farther out of their own countries the better.

“I commend you to the Lord ; and rest, your affectionate father,

“OLIVER P.”

And a little later, Oliver sends Henry this soothing letter, containing words which will greatly profit the young man's mind much harassed, doubtless, by the difficulties of his position :

“For my Son **HARRY CROMWELL**.

“WHITEHALL, 21st April, 1656.

“HARRY :

“I have received your letters, and have also seen some from you to others ; and am sufficiently satisfied of your burden, and that if the Lord be not with you, to enable you to bear it, you are in a very sad condition.

“I am glad to hear what I have heard of your carriage : study still to be innocent ; and to answer every occasion, roll yourself upon God,—which to do needs much grace. Cry to the Lord to give you a plain single heart. Take heed of being over-jealous, lest your apprehensions of others cause you to offend. Know that uprightness will preserve you ; in this be confident against men.

“I think the Anabaptists are to blame in not being pleased with you. That 's their fault ! It will not reach you, whilst you with singleness of heart make the

glory of the Lord your aim. Take heed of professing religion without the power : that will teach you to love all who are after the similitude of Christ. Take care of making it a business to be too hard for the men who contest with you. Being over-concerned may train you into a snare.—I have to do with those poor men ; and am not without my exercise. I know they are weak ; because they are so peremptory in judging others. I quarrel not with them but in their seeking to supplant others ; which is done by some, first by branding them with antichristianism, and then taking away their maintenance.

“ Be not troubled with the late Business : we understand the men. Do not fear the sending of any over to you but such as will be considering men, loving all godly interests, and men that will be friends to justice. Lastly, take heed of studying to lay for yourself the foundation of a great estate. It will be a snare to you : they will watch you ; bad men will be confirmed in covetousness. The thing is an evil which God abhors. I pray you think of me in this.

“ If the Lord did not sustain me, I were undone : but I live, and I shall live, to the good pleasure of His grace : I find mercy at need. The God of all grace keep you. I rest, your loving father,

“ OLIVER P.

“ My love to my dear Daughter (whom I frequently pray for) and to all friends.”

The appointment of the Major-Generals (August, 1655) gave to those officers supreme control over the persons and property of all who lived within their jurisdiction. Cromwell, who affected to consider that the recent insurrections involved the whole of the Royalist party, now prescribed a measure of the utmost severity against them. He issued an order that they should all be assessed the tenth penny of their possessions, and as most of them had been already reduced to poverty by the exactions of the war, the distress caused by this harsh measure was most extreme. No regard was paid to former compositions, articles of capitulation, or acts of indemnity. Harassed as they had already been by the rigours of the conquerors, the Cavaliers were again required to purchase their immunity from prison by paying the most extravagant sums.

The Major-Generals collected these taxes with relentless precision, and discharged the other extraordinary powers of their offices in a manner which placed the liberties of all Englishmen in bondage. They were expected to look after the good of the Commonwealth, both as to religious and civil affairs, according to their own discretion. They could silence or eject “ scandalous ” ministers ; summon disaffected or suspected

persons before them, and send them to prison if impulse or expediency suggested it to their minds. All stage plays and public sports were strictly suppressed. They had command of the militia of the counties, and troops were kept ready under vast public charge to march wherever their presence might be deemed necessary. There was no appeal from their exactions but to the Lord Protector and his Council; and well might Cromwell say, "Many good men are repining at everything!"

Yet was England in the zenith of her glory. A military dictatorship oppressed her people at home, but the same institution exalted her power and glory abroad. We have seen that Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal had made haste to claim terms of amity and peace with her. France and Spain were now vying with each other to obtain an alliance with the Protector. They addressed him obsequiously as "the Most Invincible of Sovereigns," the "Greatest and Happiest of Princes." When Louis of France wrote to him as "Your Serene Highness," Cromwell refused to receive the letter. "What?" said Louis to Mazarin, "are we to call this fellow our brother?" "Call him your father, Sire," answered the wily minister, "if it will secure his friendship."¹ "It was hard to discover," wrote Clarendon, "which feared him most—France, Spain, or the Low Countries." The King of Spain sent an ambassador to express his great satisfaction with Cromwell's accession to the Government, and solemnly engaged himself, if Oliver would go one step further and take the Crown upon him, to hazard the Crown of Spain in his defence.

After apparently dallying with the ambassadors from both Paris and Madrid, Oliver determined to form an alliance with France. But in June, 1655, there came news to England of cruelties to the Protestants of Piedmont which caused him to break off the treaty until their protection could be secured. The Duke of Savoy had decided to convert his Protestant subjects in the Valleys of the Alps to Catholic tenets even at the

¹ Letters concerning this punctilio, in Thurloe, vol. ii., pp. 106, 143, 159. In the treaty with France Cromwell's name took precedence of the French king's.—*Cromwell*, by John Banks, London, 1760, p. 203.

cannon's mouth. These Savoyards were a pious and industrious peasantry, said to be descendants of the ancient Waldenses. They had long since thrown off the yoke of Rome, and when the Catholic soldiers came among them and were met with a stubborn rejection of the Roman dogmas, a sanguinary massacre ensued, which spared neither age nor sex. All manner of cruelties and atrocities were put upon these poor suffering ones. They were driven out of their houses and away from their fields, and when they attempted to fly many of them were slaughtered by the roadside.

On the day that the news of this affair reached England the French treaty was to have been signed. But Cromwell threw it indignantly aside. He refused to negotiate further until Louis and Mazarin would assist him in restoring the Savoyards to their houses. He gave £2000 from his own purse to their relief and sent collectors to obtain contributions from others who were able to give. He wrote to Louis by the hand of Milton in this lofty and pathetic strain :

“ To the Most Serene and Potent Prince, LOUIS, KING OF FRANCE.

“ Most Serene and Potent King, Most Close Friend and Ally :

“ Your Majesty may recollect that during the negotiation between us for the renewing of our League (which many advantages to both Nations, and much damage to their common Enemies, resulting therefrom, now testify to have been very wisely done),—there fell out that miserable Slaughter of the People of the Valleys; whose cause, on all sides deserted and trodden down, we, with the utmost earnestness and pity, recommended to your mercy and protection. Nor do we think your Majesty, for your own part, has been wanting in an office so pious and indeed so human; in so far as either by authority or favour you might have influence with the Duke of Savoy: we certainly, and many other Princes and States, by embassies, by letters, by entreaties directed thither, have not been wanting.

“ After that most sanguinary Massacre, which spared no age nor either sex, there was at last a Peace given; or rather, under the specious name of Peace, a certain more disguised hostility. The terms of the Peace were settled in your Town of Pignerol: hard terms; but such as those poor People, indigent and wretched, after suffering all manner of cruelties and atrocities, might gladly acquiesce in; if only, hard and unjust as the bargain is, it were adhered to. It is not adhered to; those terms are broken; the purport of every one of them is, by false interpretation and various subterfuges, eluded and violated. Many of these People are ejected from their old Habitations; their Native Religion is prohibited to many: new Taxes are exacted; a new Fortress has been built over them, out of which soldiers frequently sallying plunder or kill whomsoever they meet. Moreover, new Forces

have of late been privily got ready against them ; and such as follow the Romish Religion are directed to withdraw from among them within a limited time so that everything seems now again to point towards the extermination of all among those unhappy People, whom the former Massacre had left.

"Which now, O Most Christian King, I beseech and obtest thee, by thy right-hand which pledged a League and Friendship with us, by the sacred honour of that Title of Most Christian,—permit not to be done : nor let such license of Savagery, I do not say to any Prince (for indeed no cruelty like this could come into the mind of any Prince, much less into the tender years of that young Prince, or into the woman's heart of his Mother), but to those most accursed Assassins, be given. Who while they profess themselves the servants and imitators of Christ our Saviour, who came into this world that He might save sinners, abuse His most merciful Name and Commandments to the cruellest slaughterings. Snatch, thou who art able, and who in such an elevation art worthy to be able, those poor Suppliants of thine from the hands of Murderers, who, lately drunk with blood, are again athirst for it, and think convenient to turn the discredit of their own cruelty upon their Prince's score. Suffer not either thy Titles and the Environs of thy Kingdom to be soiled with that discredit, or the peaceable Gospel of Christ by that cruelty, in thy Reign. Remember that these very People became subjects of thy Ancestor, Henry, most friendly to Protestants ; when Lesdiguières victoriously pursued him of Savoy across the Alps, through those same Valleys, where indeed the most commodious pass to Italy is. The Instrument of that, their Paction and Surrender, is yet extant in the public acts of your Kingdom ; in which this among other things is specified and provided against, That these People of the Valleys should not thereafter be delivered over to any one except on the same conditions under which thy invincible Ancestor had received them into fealty. This promised protection they now implore ; promise of thy Ancestor they now, from thee the Grandson, suppliantly demand. To be thine rather than his whose they now are, if by any means of exchange it could be done, they would wish and prefer ; if that may not be, thine at least by succour, by commiseration and deliverance.

"There are likewise reasons of State which might give inducement not to reject these People of the Valleys flying for shelter to thee : but I would not have thee, so great a King as thou art, be moved to the defence of the unfortunate by other reasons than the promise of thy Ancestors, and thy own piety and royal benignity and greatness of mind. So shall the praise and fame of this most worthy action be unmixed and clear ; and thyself shalt find the Father of Mercy, and His Son Christ the King, whose Name and Doctrine thou shalt have vindicated, the more favourable to thee, and propitious through the course of life.

"May the Almighty, for His own glory, for the safety of so many most innocent Christian men, and for your true honour, dispose Your Majesty to this determination. Your Majesty's most friendly

"OLIVER Protector of the Commonwealth
of England."

"WESTMINSTER, 26th May, 1658."¹

¹ Then followed a letter to Sir William Lockhart, not only English Ambassador, but English General, and now at the head of an Army in France, in which Cromwell says :

His intercession was potent ; and Mazarin compelled the Duke of Savoy to make restitution, so far as it could be done, to his injured subjects. *Then*, the Protector consented to form the alliance with France. It was an unique tribute to the puissance of Cromwell that Louis, the brother-in-law of that Charles Stuart whom Oliver had brought to the block, should have made so many condescensions before the English Government would grant its political affiliation.¹

Cromwell's political sagacity has been severely censured for his treaties with both Sweden and France.² It has been

"The continual troubles and vexations of the poor People of Piedmont professing the Reformed Religion, . . . are matter of so much grief to us, and lie so near our heart, that . . . the present conjuncture of their affairs, and the misery that is daily added to their affliction begetting in us fresh arguments of pity towards them, not only as men, but as the poor distressed Members of Christ,—do really move us at present to recommend their sad condition to your special care. . . ." After recounting the oppressions under which they had suffered, he makes an intelligent and definite proposition for their protection by France :

"One of the most effectual remedies, which we conceive the fittest to be applied at present is, That the King of France would be pleased to make an Exchange with the Duke of Savoy for those Valleys ; resigning over to him some other part of his Dominions in lieu thereof,—as, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, the Marquisate of Saluces was exchanged with the Duke for La Bresse. Which certainly could not but be of great advantage to his Majesty, as well for the safety of Pignerol, as for the opening of a Passage for his Forces into Italy,—which Passage, if under the dominion, and in the hands of so powerful a Prince, joined with the natural strength of these places by reason of their situation, must needs be rendered impregnable. By what we have already said, you see our intentions ; and therefore we leave all other particulars to your special care and conduct."

¹ Thurloe, vol. iii., pp. 103, 619, 653.

² By Hume, vol. v., p. 458, and by the Tory school generally. There is an odd criticism of Cromwell for destroying the balance of Power in Europe in the *Life of Monck*, by Thos. Gumble, London, 1671, p. 92. Lord Bolingbroke, in his *Letters on the Study and Use of History*, says : "Cromwell either did not discern this turn of the balance of power (from Spain to France), or discerning it, he was induced by reasons of private interest to act against the general interests of Europe. Cromwell joined with France against Spain, and though he got Jamaica and Dunkirk, he drove the Spaniards into a necessity of making a peace with France, that has disturbed the peace of the world almost fourscore years, and the consequences of which have well-nigh beggared in our times the nation he enslaved in his." In *The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell*, by Slingsby Bethell, London, 1668, p. 4, it is said : "Cromwell, contrary to our interest, made an unjust war with Spain, and an impolitic league with France, bringing the first

said that his power should have been thrown to the side of Spain as a check to the dangerous ambition of France, and that the interests of Europe would have been better preserved by curbing the tendency of Sweden to northern conquests. This might have been the natural policy of England under the ancient theories of Government. But Cromwell was an individual force in the world. He had an individual mission to accomplish. He doubtless argued to himself that a French treaty would secure the liberties of the long-oppressed Huguenots, and that the Protestant interest everywhere would be advanced by the picturesque alliance of two anti-Catholic nations so renowned as England and Sweden. And his maxims were correct. On the other hand, the Spaniards were much more intolerant and bigoted than the French. They had erected the atrocious and bloody tribunal of the Inquisition. They had dotted the land with the graves of tortured martyrs. And it was upon Spain that Cromwell determined to hurl his armies, and punish her for her crimes against humanity.

In December, 1654, Cromwell had despatched a fleet to the Spanish West Indies under command of Admiral Penn (father of William Penn the Quaker) and Admiral Venables. No living man save the Lord Protector knew the object of that fleet. So secret was his purpose that not even to the Admirals would he disclose it, but presented them with sealed orders which they were not to open until they arrived at Barbadoes. Here they discovered that they were to attack the Spanish possessions in the New World. Taking on board five thousand of their expatriated countrymen, which, added to those they had brought from England made their total number nine thousand men, they determined to attempt St. Domingo, the only place of strength in the island of Hispaniola. But Cromwell had in this enterprise been unfortunate in his selection of leaders. Neither Penn nor Venables was equal to a great

thereby under, and making the latter too great for Christendom; and, by that means, broke the balance betwixt the two crowns of Spain and France, which his predecessors, the Long Parliament, had always wisely preserved." All of which is academic but not practical reasoning.

undertaking. There was disagreement among the officers, the exiled soldiers from Barbadoes were an unruly set, and there was much sickness.

When the fleet of sixty ships appeared off Hispaniola the Spanish residents were struck with terror and fled away from their houses. But the English, fearing to land in a populous part of the island, sailed some sixty miles along the coast. They then disembarked and attempted without guides to make their way to St. Domingo on foot. For four days they tramped through the woods with but scant food, and, what was worse in that tropical climate, without water. They soon became completely demoralised, whereupon the Spaniards attacked them with an inconsiderable force and drove them in frantic terror back to their ships, killing six hundred and wounding many more.

Knowing well the punishment that would fall upon them if they returned to England on the heels of such a needless disaster, Penn and Venables sailed for the island of Jamaica. On May 3, 1655, they assailed and captured this island, which is by far the most valuable of the English possessions in the West Indies. The importance of the acquisition of Jamaica was overlooked in England beside the ignominious failure at St. Domingo; but Cromwell himself instantly perceived its value.

He wrote to Admiral Goodson, giving him minute instructions concerning the war with Spain, and said :

“ We are sending to you, with all possible speed, seven more stout men-of-war, some of them forty guns, and the rest not under thirty, for your assistance. This ship goes before, with instructions, to encourage you to go on in the work. . . . And I hope your counsels will enter into that which may be for the glory of God and good of this Nation. It is not to be denied but the Lord hath greatly humbled us in that sad loss sustained at Hispaniola; and we doubt we have provoked the Lord; and it is good for us to know and to be abased for the same. But yet certainly His name is concerned in the work; and therefore though we should, and I hope do, lay our mouths in the dust, yet He would not have us despond, but I trust give us leave to make mention of His name and of His righteousness, when we cannot make mention of our own. You are left there; and I pray you set-up your banners in the name of Christ; for undoubtedly it is His cause. And let the reproach and shame that hath been for our sins, and through (also we may say) the misguidance of some, work-up your hearts to confidence in the Lord, and for the

redemption of His honour from the hands of men who attribute their success to their Idols, the work of their own hands. And though He hath torn us, yet He will heal us ; though He hath smitten us, yet He will bind us up ; after two days He will revive us, in the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in His sight. The Lord Himself hath a controversy with your Enemies ; even with that Roman Babylon, of which the Spaniard is the great underpropper. In that respect we fight the Lord's battles ; and in this the Scriptures are most plain. The Lord therefore strengthen you with faith, and cleanse you from all evil : and doubt not but He is able, and I trust as willing, to give you as signal success as He gave your Enemies against you. Only the Covenant-fear of the Lord be upon you."

No details escaped Cromwell's cautious mind. To Daniel Serle, the Governor of Barbadoes, he wrote :

" Having said this, I think fit to let you know that we have twenty men-of-war already there [at Jamaica], and are sending eight more, many whereof have forty guns and upwards, and the rest above thirty. We hope the plantation is not wanting in anything ; having at the least seven thousand fighting men upon the place : and we are providing to supply them constantly with fresh men ; and we trust they are furnished with a twelvemonth's victuals ;—and I think, if we have it in England, they shall not want. We have also sent to the colonies of New England like offers with yours, To remove thither ; our resolution being to people and plant that Island. And indeed we have very good reason to expect considerable numbers from thence, forasmuch as the last winter was very destructive, and the summer hath proved so very sickly. I pray God direct you."

To General Fortescue, at Jamaica, he wrote ; showing his care of England's most distant possessions :

" And let me tell you, as an encouragement to you and those with you to improve the utmost diligence, and to excite your courage in this business, though not to occasion any negligence in prosecuting that affair, nor to give occasion to slacken any improvement of what the place may afford, that you will be followed with what necessary supplies, as well for comfortable subsistence as for your security against the Spaniard, this place may afford, or you want.

" And therefore study first your security by fortifying : and although you have not moneys, for the present, to do it in such quantities as were to be wished ; yet, your case being as that of a marching army, wherein every soldier, out of principles of nature, and according to the practice of all discipline, ought to be at pains to secure the common quarter,—we hope no man amongst you will be so wanting to himself, considering food is provided for you, as not to be willing to help to the uttermost therein. And therefore I require you and all with you, for the safety of the whole, that this be made your most principal intention. The doing of this will require that you be very careful not to scatter, till you have begun a security in some one place,—Next I desire you that you would consider how to form such a

body of good Horse as may, if the Spaniard should attempt upon you at his next coming into the Indies with his Galeons, be in readiness to march to hinder his landing ; who will hardly land upon a body of Horse ; and if he shall land, [you will] be in a posture to keep the provisions of the country from him, or him from the provisions, if he shall endeavour to march towards you.

“ We have sent Commissioners and Instructions into New England, to try what people may be drawn thence. We have done the like to the Windward English Islands ; and both in England, and Scotland, and Ireland, you will have what men and women we can well transport. To conclude : As we have cause to be humbled for the reproof God gave us at St. Domingo, upon the account of our own sins as well as others’, so, truly, upon the reports brought hither to us, of the extreme avarice, pride and confidence, disorders and debauchedness, profaneness, and wickedness, commonly practised amongst the Army, we can not only bewail the same, but desire that all with you may do so ; and that a very special regard may be had so to govern, for time to come, as that all manner of vice may be thoroughly discountenanced, and severely punished ; and that such a frame of government may be exercised that virtue and godliness may receive due encouragement.”

Then, in one of those measures which are often made necessary by the gruesome necessities of conquest, he instructed his son, Henry Cromwell, who was now Lord Deputy of Ireland, to seize and transport to Jamaica one thousand Irish maidens and an equal number of young men, in order to increase the population as rapidly as possible.¹

Penn and Venable now ventured to return to England, but the story of their St. Domingo folly had so embittered the Lord Protector, that he was overcome with passion, and threw them both into confinement in the Tower,—a warning to his other commanders to win their battles or suffer lasting disgrace.

Admiral Blake, whose fame was now spread over Europe, sailed with the second fleet in the spring of 1655, in another

¹ See Henry Cromwell’s answer to Thurloe : “ Sir : I understand by your last letter that the transportation of a thousand Irish girls and the like number of boys, is resolved on by the Council. But as touching what you write for the charges you will be at to put them in an equipage fit to be sent (having advised with some persons here), I know not well what answer to return you to it. But it’s thought most advisable to provide their clothes for them in London, which we think you may do better, and at cheaper rates, than we can here. We shall have upon the receipt of his Highness’ pleasure, the number you propounded, *and more if you think fit.*”—Thurloe, vol. iv., p. 87. Forster omits to mention that one thousand boys were to be sent with the girls.

direction. With thirty fine ships he entered the Mediterranean, whose waters had not been ploughed by any English Navy since the Crusades. From one end to the other of that beautiful sea there was no power to resist him. Alexander VII., who had just ascended the Chair of St. Peter, trembled in daily expectation of hearing the Protector's guns thundering at the gates of Rome. The Duke of Tuscany, seeing the Puritan fleet approaching Leghorn, made haste to repay those losses which English merchantmen had sustained from his rapacious greed. Blake then cast anchor before Algiers, and after punishing the pirates who had infested those parts, he compelled the Dey of Algiers to permanently suppress them. Coming before Tunis he made similar demands of the Dey, who arrogantly told him to look upon his castles on the shore and his ships in the bay, and do his worst. The intrepid Admiral took him at his word, and sailed so close to the shore that the guns in the castles on the hills could not harm him. He sent out his sailors in their long-boats, who set fire to the Tunisian fleet and destroyed it. He then battered down the castles on the shore, and took what spoil he could carry away, and departed. Montague was soon afterwards joined in the command with Blake, and Cromwell personally directed their movements at sea in so far as their policy was concerned.¹

The war with Spain was prosecuted with great brilliancy. On one occasion Blake and Montague intercepted the plate fleet from America and captured almost incalculable treasure.

Again they pursued a Spanish fleet of sixteen sail to the Bay of Santa Cruz where they faced a line of seven forts

¹ See his despatches to them collected in Carlyle. Two extracts from Evelyn's *Diary* indicate Cromwell's personal interest in his Navy: "March 15, 1652. I saw the *Diamond* and *Ruby* launched in the dock at Deptford, carrying forty-eight brass cannon each; Cromwell and his grandees present with great acclamations."—Vol. i., p. 289. "April 9, 1655. I went to see the great ship newly built by the Usurper, Oliver, carrying ninety-six brass guns, and one thousand tons burthen. In the prow was Oliver on horse-back, trampling six nations under foot, a Scot, Irishman, Dutchman, Frenchman, Spaniard, and English, as was easily made out by their several habits. A Fame held a laurel over his insulting head; the word, *God with us*."—Vol. i., p. 323.

and a strong castle. The Spanish ships were placed with their broadsides to the sea and the guns on shore were in readiness to join them should the English dare to venture an attack. But Blake indomitably approached and fought them at close range for four hours, at the end of which he had destroyed all their ships by fire. The enraged Governor on shore now thought to destroy him, but the wind suddenly changed and Blake sailed happily away, almost without harm. This was the last and most formidable action of the great Admiral. The hardships of his life on shipboard had afflicted him with dropsy and scurvy, and he set sail toward England in order that his spirit might pass away amidst the beloved scenes of his native land. As his ship came within sight of Plymouth (20th April, 1657), he expired. He had lived an inflexible Republican, and throughout all the changes in the Government he had never sought opportunity for private aggrandisement, but was content to serve his country as a true and simple sailor. As such he achieved a fame as glorious as any that British annals preserve.

Oliver pushed the war with vigour and enthusiasm, eagerly watching, cautiously directing, every movement of his fleets. His spirit is disclosed in these words :

"Make any peace with any state that is Popish and subjected to the determination of Rome and of the Pope himself,—*you* are bound, and *they* are loose! It is the pleasure of the Pope at any time to tell you, That though the man is murdered, yet his murderer has got into the sanctuary.¹ And equally true is it, and hath been found by common and constant experience, that peace is but to be kept so long as the Pope saith Amen to it."

England had no treaty with any Catholic State except France and Cromwell said :

"And there is no other Popish State we can speak of, save this only, but will break their promise or keep it as they please upon these grounds,—being under the lash of the Pope, to be by him determined."²

He formed a new and more intimate treaty with France

¹ Alluding to the case of Asham, an ambassador who had been assassinated.

² *Letters and Speeches*, vol. iii., p. 77.

(March 23, 1657), by which a French and English assault was to be made upon the Spanish power in the Netherlands. Louis was to contribute twenty thousand and Cromwell six thousand men. The Spaniards at that time held three French towns on the northernmost coast of France,—Gravelines, Mardike, and Dunkirk, and it was the object of the expedition to reduce these places. If successful Gravelines was to belong to France, and Mardike and Dunkirk to England.

Sir William Lockhart was the English commander,—a brave Scot who had come into England in the Duke of Hamilton's ill-fated invasion, but had since obtained Cromwell's pardon, married the Protector's niece, Robina Sewster, and was now winning diplomatic and military honours in France.

Contrary to Cromwell's desire, the French authorities planned to besiege Gravelines, their town, first. This did not please the Lord Protector. He fain would have his two towns taken first,—put into his possession as guaranty of good faith. He was a plain-spoken man. "I pray you tell the Cardinal for me," he wrote to Lockhart, "that we desire, that the design be Dunkirk rather than Gravelines." He would send over "Two of our old regiments and two thousand foot more, if need be, if Dunkirk be the design." The Cardinal yielded, marched first for Mardike, captured it (September 21, 1657), and delivered it to the English. Don John of Austria, aided by the English Duke of York, made an attempt to retake it, but was repulsed. Siege was then laid to Dunkirk.

Dunkirk was a more important stronghold, and was the key to Belgium (then called Flanders) on the north and east. In aspiring to Dunkirk, it was not only Cromwell's aim to crush the nest of pirates who preyed thence on English commerce, but also to convince all Europe at once that in thus planting himself between three warring neighbours like France, Holland, and Spain, he would keep the peace between them and stop the spread of the Holy Empire, which both Spain and Rome would have made universal.

As soon as Dunkirk's peril was made known to the Spaniards Don John hastened thither with 15,000 men, the Duke of

York and a few Irish regiments being again with him. A great battle was fought before the walls of the city June 14, 1658. The first charge was made by the English, and the French were coldly inactive. Lockhart's own regiment broke the line of the Spaniards and put their foot to flight. Then the French horse charged the Spanish cavalry. The Ironsides shouted the Psalms as of old, and pushed their advantage, never wavering in their magnificent advance. It was the last fight of Cromwell's Army. Soon the Spaniards, Don John, the Duke of York, and the Irish contingent were in full flight, their men being slaughtered at every step,—a crushing, killing blow that the Lord Protector dealt that day to his Spanish enemy, causing his rapid and permanent decline.¹

But in spite of his vast and permanent military successes abroad, the main object of Cromwell's foreign policy was the organisation of a Protestant Alliance that would dictate religious toleration to the rest of Europe; and in this benign project he did not succeed. Sweden and Denmark were in open war. Holland was jealous and irritable. The narrow Protestant princes of Germany would not see beyond the borders of their own States. Only the prestige of England and of Oliver was great throughout the world.

¹ *A Chronicle of the Late Intestine War*, by James Heath, London, 1676, p. 405. *The House of Cromwell and Story of Dunkirk*, by James Waylen, London, 1891, p. 173.





CHAPTER XXV.

DALLYING WITH THE CROWN.

Cromwell's Patronage of Learning—His Generosity to the Cavaliers—Would have the Ancient Peers at his Court—He Rises above the Bigotry of his Age—Fine Character of his Judges—Calls his Second Parliament—A Sketch of Vane—Cromwell Desires to be King—He Abolishes the Major-Generals—His Parliament Urges him to Accept the Crown—The Negotiations Thereon—Opposition of his Family—And of the Army—He Refuses the Crown—A House of Lords Created—Cromwell's Second Installation—Royalist Plotting Renewed—He Dismisses his Parliament and Stands alone in the Government.

“IF there was a man in England,” says Daniel Neal, in his *History of the Puritans*, “who excelled in any faculty or science, the Protector would find him out, and reward him according to his merit.” He directed the learned professors of the universities to mark the rising youth of England, and commend to his attention such as they deemed apt for public station. His choice of men throughout his administration was wise and fortunate, and gave great satisfaction to the nation.

The magnanimous conduct by which he won Lord Broghill's friendship deserves to be related. Lord Broghill had lain quiet on his estate in England after the death of Charles I., until he felt that he could no longer endure the humiliation which his party then suffered. Accordingly he determined to apply to young Charles Stuart, then a wanderer on the Continent, for a commission authorising him to raise an insurrection in England. He appealed to the Earl of Warwick for a pass to go to Spa to be treated for the gout, and when this pretext was presented

to Cromwell and his Council, backed by the recommendation of Warwick, who believed in his friend's honesty of purpose, the pass was issued, and Broghill came to London to receive it. By the time he arrived there, Cromwell had learned the whole story of his intentions, and, coming in person to Broghill's lodging, he demanded to know for what purpose his Lordship was going abroad. Broghill answered, to Spa to be treated for his gout. Then Cromwell told him that he knew all, and that the Council had ordered him to the Tower for treason. The frightened Lord at first denied that his designs were treacherous, but he was finally compelled to confess his purposes, upon hearing which Cromwell astounded him by offering him a military command in Ireland with high rank, if he would fight against the Irish papists, assuring him that no oaths or obligations would be exacted of him beyond his promise to assist in subduing the Irish rebellion. Broghill at first demurred, but when the alternative of imprisonment was put before him, he accepted the generous offer, and was a steadfast servant of the Commonwealth.¹

Cromwell was extremely solicitous that the great nobles who were yet in England should come to his Court, or at least accept his Government with passive obedience; and to that end he made them many courteous advances. "The nobles and great men," says Dr. Bates, who was physician, in turn, to Charles I., to Oliver, and to Charles II., "(for with some few of them he had an intimacy) he delighted with raillery and jesting, contended with them in mimical gestures, and entertained them with merry collations, music, hunting, and hawking. When he was in the country, he used once or oftener a year, to give the neighbours a buck, to be run down in his park, and money to buy wine to make merry with." He had all the human emotions, this Oliver, both grave and gay. He loved horses and deer, and was extremely fond of music, having a great organ in the gallery at Hampton Court where it was frequently played to him. In an interview with the old Marquis of

¹ Morris's *Life of Lord Orrery*, in Harris, p. 426.

Hertford, a staunch King's-man and royal counsellor, Cromwell told the Marquis that he was weary of the cares of Government, and begged him, as one familiar with affairs of State, to give him some advice. The grizzled nobleman objected on the ground that he had been a Privy Counsellor to the late King, and it would be highly inapposite for him to offer advice to the Protector. But Cromwell pressed him until the Marquis with much feeling, said: "Our young master that is abroad,—that is, my master, and the master of us all,—restore him to his Crowns; and by doing this you may have what you please." Cromwell answered quietly that in his circumstances he could not trust, nor could the King forgive.¹

His yearning desire for recognition from the people without regard to party, which was stubbornly withheld by many men, can be appreciated when it is remembered that nearly all the bosom friends of his earlier triumphs were now bitterly hostile to him. Vane, Lambert, Harrison, Bradshaw, Hazelrig, Ludlow, Lawson, Rich, Okey, Alured, Wildman, and Lilburne, once his devoted adherents, were now in opposition to his Government and the declared enemies of his person.

Cromwell was easy of access to any one who had occasion to see him. George Fox, the Quaker leader, had been subjected to some governmental injustice, and sought the Protector. The interview was satisfactory. As Fox was withdrawing, Cromwell caught him by the hand. "Come again to my house," he said. "If thou and I were but an hour of the day together, we should be nearer one to the other. I wish no more harm to thee than I do to my own soul."²

His mind broadened as his public policy expanded. While he was an Independent by conviction he extended his friendship and confidence to men of all other opinions. Manton prayed at his inauguration; Baxter preached at his Court; Calamy was consulted by him in spiritual affairs; yet all three were Presbyterians. Dr. Browning, Episcopal Bishop of Exeter, was treated by Cromwell with marked respect. An-

¹ Peck's Preface to his *Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell*, London, 1711, p. 37.

² Fox's *Journal*, vol. i., p. 265.

other Episcopalian, Dr. Barnard, he rescued from the slaughter at Drogheda, and made him his almoner. He advanced Archbishop Urshur to places of honour and profit. His behaviour was equally humane to those whose faith was intolerable to other Englishmen. To John Bidwell, a Unitarian suffering banishment in Scilly, he granted a pension of an hundred crowns a year. Jeremiah White and Peter Sterry he placed among his chaplains, though their speculations concerning the ends of Providence were far from the beaten path of Puritanism. John Goodwin, denounced by all the ministers at his Court, continued constantly in his favour. Even the Catholics who avoided seditious company, though proscribed by the laws of England, were treated with secret sympathy by Oliver. Sir Kenelm Digby, a refined and sensible Catholic, who was hospitably entertained at Whitehall, said to Secretary Thurloe:

“My obligations to his Highness are so great that it would be a crime in me to behave myself so negligently as to give cause for any shadow of the least suspicion, or to do anything that might require an excuse or apology. I should think my heart were not an honest one if the blood about it were not warmed with any the least imputation upon my respects and my duty to his Highness to whom I owe so much.”¹

Beyond all, his undisguised respect for Manassah Ben Israel, and for the Jews for whose protection the Rabbi pleaded, must set Cromwell high above the bigotry which marked his age.

His law courts were administered by honest and able judges. Clarendon says: “In matters which did not concern the life of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interposing between party and party.” And Coke says: “Westminster Hall was never replenished with more learned and upright judges than by him; nor was justice either in law or equity, in civil cases more equally distributed, where he was not a party.” Sir Matthew Hale, a Royalist, was chosen by Cromwell for a judge of the Common Pleas Court entirely

¹ Thurloe, vol. iv., p. 592.

because of his reputation for perfect honesty.¹ Bishop Burnet's father, who was likewise a Royalist, was sent for to come from Scotland and serve as a judge, his piety and integrity outweighing his political disabilities.²

Still, there were occasions on which the Lord Protector construed his "law of necessity" unto the packing of juries, the removal of unpliant judges, and the illegal commitment of men to prison. The high-sheriff of Wilts writes to Oliver that he is choosing on the juries only those who will work his Highness' pleasure.³ "Baron Thorp [a judge] and Judge Newdigate," says Whitelock, "were put out of their places for not observing the Protector's pleasure in all his commands."⁴ Bradshaw, the President of the Regicides' Court, was removed from his place of Chief Justice of Chester because of his cooling loyalty.⁵ When the disturbing John Lilburne—Freeborn John—was tried for writing seditious pamphlets, and acquitted by the jury, Oliver kept him in prison notwithstanding his vindication.⁶ Colonel Rich was imprisoned at Windsor, and General Harrison at Pendennis, without legal process. Likewise Lord Willoughby of Parham, Lord Tufton, Colonel Ashburnham, Sir Robert Sherley, Sir Luke Fitzgerald, and seven others were sent to the Tower because the Protector felt his Government to be safer with them there.⁷ And, yet, in spite of all, England was governed with infinitely more liberality and justice at home, and under a policy which secured a vaster respect abroad, than she had known or was to know under any Stuart King.

Writs were issued for a new Parliament. Cromwell had determined once again to appeal to his people for constitutional support. The Royalists were again restrained from voting, and the vast influence of the military organisation was

¹ Burnet's *Life of Sir Matthew Hale*.

² Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, vol. i., p. 125.

³ Thurloe, vol. iii., p. 318.

⁴ Whitelock, p. 625.

⁵ Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. iv., 270.

⁶ *The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell*, p. 12.

⁷ Godwin, vol. iv., p. 276.

employed through the Major-Generals to aid such candidates as were thought to be favourably disposed towards the ruling power. By this means Bradshaw was defeated. But Hazelrig, Scott, and Cooper, together with other irreconcilable Republicans, were elected. Vane, who tried in three places, missed in all.¹

A brief word should be spoken of Sir Harry Vane before dismissing him from our story. His three attempts to gain a seat in this Parliament were frustrated by the interference of two of the Major-Generals—Whalley and Lilburne. In much chagrin he retired to Raby Castle, the ancient seat of his family, in Durham, where he wrote a treatise advocating the adoption of a written constitution for the government of his country. When Cromwell, upon the failure of the Parliament, issued a declaration (14th March, 1656), calling upon the people to observe a general fast, in the hope that some better way might be divinely revealed, Vane wrote a tract, entitled "*A Healing Question propounded and resolved upon Occasion of the late public and seasonable Call to Humiliation in order to Love and Union amongst the Honest Party, and with a Desire to apply Balm to the Wound before it become incurable.*" In this discourse his Republican principles were defined with decorous insistence. The document was sent to Cromwell by the hand of Fleetwood, but the Protector soon returned it to its author, who straightway published it. Cromwell summoned his old friend before the Council, which demanded bonds in the sum of £5000 for his future silence. Vane imperiously refused to recognise this judgment, and was committed to prison in Carisbrooke Castle. After a confinement of four months he was released, and returned to Raby Castle smarting under his wrongs. Yet he believed that the Reign of the Saints was now established, and that the Fifth Monarchy had been inaugurated on earth, and that a divine Prince of Peace would soon appear in the second advent. When, however, he was urged to accept the present Government, he mournfully replied that he would

¹ Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Thurloe, vol. v., p. 349.

defer his share in its benefits until he came to Heaven. He was seen no more until Richard's Parliament assembled. Always active and aggressive, he was still for popular government. In a passionate speech he referred to Richard as "an idiot without courage, without sense, nay, without ambition," and then said :

"One could bear a little with Oliver Cromwell, though contrary to his oath of fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his duty to the public, contrary to the respect he owed that venerable body from whom he received his authority, he usurped the Government. His merit was so extraordinary, that our judgments, our passions, might be blinded by it. He made his way to empire by the most illustrious actions ; he had under his command an Army that had made him a Conqueror, and a People that had made him their General. But as for Richard Cromwell, his son, who is he ? What are his titles ? We have seen that he has his sword by his side ; but did he ever draw it ? And what is of more importance in this case, is he fit to get obedience from a mighty nation who could never make a footman obey him ? Yet we must recognise this man as our King, under the style of Protector ! a man without birth, without courage, without conduct. For my part, I declare, Sir, it shall never be said that I made such a man my master."

Upon the restoration of Charles II., Vane would not have been molested if he had preserved a discreet silence ; but as his tongue and pen were kept busy attacking monarchy he was again made prisoner in a lonely castle on the Scilly Islands off Land's End in the Atlantic ; and, after two years, was brought to trial for his share in the late King's dethronement and death, and was condemned. Even then Charles would have pardoned him, but his carriage before the Court was so proud and his denunciation of royalty so scathing, that his execution was deemed necessary to the safety of the Crown ; and so, on the 14th of June, 1662, he was beheaded on Tower Hill.¹

The Second Protectorate Parliament met on the 17th of September, 1656. Cromwell addressed them as usual, and explained to them the state of the nation and of foreign affairs. He bitterly reproached the Royalist party for their continual agitations by which a permanent settlement was prevented. He referred to their frequent conspiracies as a justification of

¹ Hosmer's *Life of Young Sir Harry Vane* ; Forster's *Statesmen of the Commonwealth*.

his plan of the Major-Generals. He once more palliated all the acts of his administration on the plea of necessity. By reducing the rate of taxes he said his Government had incurred debts of more than two million pounds. He told them of the mischievous plottings of the Jesuits in England. He reminded them of their high duty to the nation, and in every sentence of his speech he gave utterance to his inexhaustible religious enthusiasm and earnest belief that God was doing all.¹

There had been four hundred members elected, and, as we have already said, there were some among them who were unwelcome to the Protector. As the members left the Council-chamber to repair to their House, they were stopped in the lobby and informed that none might serve unless certified as acceptable to the Lord Protector. Three hundred received certificates. One hundred, including all the Republicans and others known to be unfriendly, were rejected. A high-handed proceeding, of course; tyrannical, despotic,—defensible only on the ground of necessity; but on that ground easily understood, and, conceding Cromwell's honesty of purpose to settle the nation, perfectly excusable.

Oliver Cromwell desired to be King of England. And why should he not be the King? The word King comes from König, and means *the man that can!* Every monarch in Europe, if he trace his title back far enough, will find his kingship dating from a battle fought and won. And who among the battle-heroes shall stand before Cromwell? Why should he not be the King?

The situation in which his destiny had placed him was such that he found himself in possession of all the authority of the most autocratic sovereign. But he had not assumed to put on the Crown, and without the Crown it was impossible for Englishmen to forget the traditions of their country sufficiently to look upon a Lord Protector as other than a ruler for an emergent period. As King of England his person would soon be in a measure forgotten amid the resplendent glories of his

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. iii., p. 71.

office ; but as Lord Protector he was disdainfully looked upon by very many as a parvenu. The laws permitted the people to obey a usurping King, but they were silent concerning homage to a Lord Protector. As King he might hope that at least some of the ancient Peers, with their incalculable influence on public opinion, would in time come into his presence, from which, as Lord Protector, he saw with deep chagrin they now contemptuously absented themselves. As King his Government would be accepted by the great body of the people as a settlement of all popular distempers ; as Lord Protector he was merely an expedient for the occasion. As King his office would be established upon the ancient foundations of the laws of England ; while as Lord Protector it rested simply upon an *Instrument* devised by himself and his officers. As King he would be legally entitled to discharge all the functions of the State ; as Lord Protector he was merely a General of the Army unlawfully exercising the civil and military powers of Government. His position was anomalous, unhappy, and full of peril. His own wonderful abilities had put him in the lead of all other men, and now, in order to secure his own safety as well as to establish the results of the war upon permanent principles, it seemed necessary that he should go the full length of his course and assume the Crown.

The first mention of Cromwell in connection with the Kingship was made by Hugh Peters, Oliver's Army-chaplain, to General Ludlow, on the way home from the great victory of Worcester. "This man will be King of England yet," said the fanatic Peters. Again, only two days after receiving information of the death of his son-in-law, Henry Ireton, who was a most uncompromising Republican, than whom "no man could prevail more nor order him farther," Cromwell called a meeting of the Parliamentary and Army leaders at Speaker Lenthall's house (December 10, 1651), and told them that now that the old King was dead, and his son being defeated, he held it necessary to come to a settlement of the nation. This was the first open and official discussion of the Kingship, and Whitelock reports that it proceeded as follows :

SPEAKER. My Lord, this company were very ready to attend your Excellency, and the business you are pleased to propound to us is very necessary to be considered. God hath given marvellous success to our forces under your command, and if we do not improve these mercies to some settlement, such as may be to God's honour and the good of this Commonwealth, we shall be very much blame-worthy.

HARRISON. I think that which my Lord General hath propounded is to advise as to a settlement both of our civil and spiritual liberties, and so that the mercies which the Lord hath given in to us may not be cast away : how this may be done is the great question.

WHITELOCK. It is a great question, indeed, and not suddenly to be resolved, yet it were pity that a meeting of so many able and worthy persons as I see here should be fruitless.

I should humbly offer, in the first place, whether it be not requisite to be understood in what way this settlement is desired, whether of an absolute republic, or with any mixture of monarchy.

CROMWELL. My Lord Commissioner Whitelock hath put us upon the right point ; and indeed it is my meaning that we should consider whether a republic or a mixed monarchical government will be best to be settled ; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power shall be placed.

SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON. I think a mixed monarchical government will be most suitable to the laws and people of this nation ; and if any monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that power in one of the sons of the late King.

COLONEL FLEETWOOD. I think that the question, whether an absolute republic or a mixed monarchy be best to be settled in this nation, will not be very easy to be determined.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE ST. JOHN. It will be found that the government of this nation, without something of monarchical power, will be very difficult to be so settled as not to shake the foundation of our laws and the liberties of the people.

SPEAKER. It will breed a strange confusion to settle a government of this nation without something of monarchy.

COLONEL DESBOROUGH. I beseech you, my lord, why may not this as well as other nations be governed in the way of a republic ?

WHITELOCK. The laws of England are so interwoven with the power and practice of monarchy, that to settle a government without something of monarchy in it, would make so great an alteration in the proceedings of our law, that you have scarce time to rectify, nor can we well foresee, the inconveniences which will arise thereby.

COLONEL WHALLEY. I do not well understand matters of law, but it seems to me the best way not to have any thing of monarchical power in the settlement of our government ; and if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon ? The King's eldest son hath been in arms against us, and his second son likewise is our enemy.

SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON. But the late King's third son, the Duke of Gloucester, is still among us, and too young to have been in arms against us, or infected with the principles of our enemies.

WHITELOCK. There may be a day given for the King's eldest son or for the Duke of York, his brother, to come into the Parliament, and upon such terms as shall be thought fit and agreeable both to our civil and spiritual liberties ; a settlement may be made with them.

CROMWELL. That will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty ; but, really, I think, if it may be done with safety and preservation of our rights, both as Englishmen and as Christians, that a settlement of somewhat with monarchical power in it would be very effectual.

A surprising result of this conference was that the soldiers who were present were strongly opposed to the monarchical form of Government, while the lawyers and the other civilians, except Widdrington, were in favour of it.

Nearly a year later (November, 1652), Whitelock records that, on a fair evening, while walking in St. James's Park, to refresh himself after business of toil, and for a little exercise, he met the Lord General Cromwell. Before passing to the momentous interview which then took place, it should be said that Whitelock, while a pompous, egotistical, and self-inflated man, yet possessed great wisdom, was deeply learned in the law, and was a sagacious and influential member of the Parliament. Cromwell, while holding his vanity in contempt, cherished a great respect for his indisputable abilities, and in the days of the Protectorate was glad to appoint him to the most important official positions, on one occasion sending him as Ambassador to Queen Christina of Sweden. The conversation in St. James's Park is undoubtedly authentic, although, as it was written out for the world after the Restoration, Whitelock may have changed the colour of his own words or of those of Cromwell to suit the altered conditions. His history, usually dull and tedious, becomes suddenly most interesting in this grave discourse. He says that Cromwell saluted him with more than ordinary courtesy, and desired him to walk aside with him, that they might talk privately, which they did to this effect :

CROMWELL. My lord Whitelock, I know your faithfulness and engagement in the same good cause with myself and the rest of our friends, and I know your ability in judgment and your particular friendship and affection for me,—indeed I

am sufficiently satisfied in these things, and therefore I desire to advise with you in the main and most important affairs relating to our present condition.

WHITELOCK. Your Excellency hath known me long, and, I think, will say that you never knew any unfaithfulness or breach of trust by me ; and for my particular affection to your person, your favours to me, and your public services, have deserved more than I can manifest, only there is (with your favour) a mistake in this one thing, touching my weak judgment, which is incapable to do any considerable service for yourself or this Commonwealth ; yet to the utmost of my power I shall be ready to serve you, and that with all diligence and faithfulness.

CROMWELL. I have cause to be, and am, without the least scruple of your faithfulness, and I know your kindness to me, your old friend, and your abilities to serve the Commonwealth, and there are enough besides me that can testify it ; and I believe our engagements for this Commonwealth have been and are as deep as most men's, and there never was more need of advice and solid hearty counsel than the present state of our affairs doth require.

WHITELOCK. I suppose no man will mention his particular engagement in this cause, at the same time when your Excellency's engagement is remembered, yet to my capacity and in my station few men have engaged further than I have done, and that (besides the goodness of your own nature and personal knowledge of me) will keep you from any jealousy of my faithfulness.

CROMWELL. I wish there were no more ground of suspicion of others than of you ; I can trust you with my life, and the most secret matters relating to our business ; and to that end I have now desired a little private discourse with you ; and really, my lord, there is very great cause for us to consider the dangerous condition we are all in, and how to make good our station, to improve the mercies and successes which God hath given us, and not to be fooled out of them again, nor to be broken in pieces by our particular jarrings and animosities one against another, but to unite our counsels and hands and hearts, to make good what we have so dearly bought with so much hazard, blood, and treasure ; and that the Lord having given us an entire conquest over our enemies, we should not now hazard all again by our private janglings, and bring those mischiefs upon ourselves which our enemies could never do.

WHITELOCK. My lord, I look upon our present danger as greater than ever it was in the field, and (as your Excellency truly observes) our proneness to destroy ourselves, when our enemies could not do it. It is no strange thing for a gallant Army (as yours is) after full conquest of their enemies, to grow into factions and ambitious designs, and it is a wonder to me that they are not in high mutinies, their spirits being active, and few thinking their services to be duly rewarded, and the emulation of the officers breaking out daily more and more in this time of their vacancy from their employment ; besides, the private soldiers, it may be feared, will in this time of their idleness grow into disorder, and it is your excellent conduct, which, under God, hath kept them so long in discipline, and free from mutinies.

CROMWELL. I have used and shall use the utmost of my poor endeavours to keep them all in order and obedience.

WHITELOCK. Your Excellency hath done it hitherto even to admiration.

CROMWELL. Truly God hath blessed me in it exceedingly, and I hope will do so still. Your lordship hath observed most truly the inclinations of the officers of the Army to particular factions, and to murmurings, that they are not rewarded according to their deserts, that others who have adventured least have gained most, and they have neither profit, nor preferment, nor place in Government, which others hold who have undergone no hardships nor hazards for the Commonwealth; and herein they have too much of truth, yet their insolency is very great, and their influence upon the private soldiers works them to the like discontents and murmurings.

Then as for the members of Parliament, the Army begins to have a strange distaste against them, and I wish there were not too much cause for it, and really their pride and ambition and self-seeking, engrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions.

Their delays of business and design to perpetuate themselves, and to continue the power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of Parliaments; and their injustice and partiality in those matters, and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them; these things, my lord, do give too much ground for people to open their mouths against them and to dislike them.

Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice and law or reason, they themselves being the supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controlled or regulated by any other power, there being none superior or co-ordinate with them.

So that unless there be some authority and power so full and so high as to restrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to these exorbitances, it will be impossible in human reason to prevent our ruin.

WHITELOCK. I confess the danger we are in by these extravagances and inordinate powers is more than I doubt is generally apprehended; yet as to that part of it which concerns the soldiery, your Excellency's power and commission is sufficient already to restrain and keep them in their due obedience, and, blessed be God, you have done it hitherto, and I doubt not but by your wisdom you will be able still to do it.

As to the members of Parliament, I confess the greatest difficulty lies there, your commission being from them, and they being acknowledged the supreme power of the nation, subject to no control, nor allowing any appeal from them.

Yet I am sure your Excellency will not look upon them as generally depraved, too many of them are much to blame in those things you have mentioned, and many unfit things have passed among them; but I hope well of the major part of them, when great matters come to a decision.

CROMWELL. My lord, there is little hopes of a good settlement to be made by them, really there is not; but a great deal of fear that they will destroy again what the Lord hath done graciously for them and us; we all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to confusion; and these men will help it on, if they be suffered to proceed in their ways; some course must be thought on to curb and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by them.

WHITELOCK. We ourselves have acknowledged them the supreme power, and taken our commissions and authority in the highest concernments from them, and how to restrain and curb them after this it will be hard to find out a way for it.

CROMWELL. What if a man should take upon him to be King?

WHITELOCK. I think that remedy would be worse than the disease.

CROMWELL. Why do you think so?

WHITELOCK. As to your own person the title of King would be of no advantage, because you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia, as you are General.

As to the nomination of civil officers, those whom you think fittest are seldom refused; and although you have no negative vote in the passing of laws, yet what you dislike will not easily be carried, and the taxes are already settled, and in your power to dispose the money raised. And as to foreign affairs, though the ceremonial application be made to the Parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad success in it is from your Excellency, and particular solicitations of foreign ministers are made to you only;

So that I apprehend indeed less envy and danger and pomp, but not less power and real opportunities of doing good in your being General than would be if you had assumed the title of King.

CROMWELL. I have heard some of your profession observe that he who is actually King, whether by election or by descent, yet being once King, all acts done by him as King are lawful and justifiable, as by any King who hath the crown by inheritance from his forefathers; and that by an act of Parliament in Henry VII's time, it is safer for those who act under a King (be his title what it will) than for those who act under any other power.

And surely the power of a King is so great and high, and so universally understood and revered by the people of this nation, that the title of it might not only indemnify in a great measure those that act under it, but likewise be of great use and advantage in such times as these, to curb the insolences and extravagances of those whom the present powers cannot control, or at least are the persons themselves who are thus insolent.

WHITELOCK. I agree in the general with what you are pleased to observe as to this title of King, but whether for your excellency to take this title upon you, as things now are, will be for the good and advantage either of yourself and friends, or of the Commonwealth, I do very much doubt, notwithstanding that act of Parliament ii. Hen. VII., which will be little regarded or observed to us by our enemies if they should come to get the upper hand of us.

CROMWELL. What do you apprehend would be the danger of taking this title?

WHITELOCK. The danger I think would be this, one of the main points of controversy betwixt us and our adversaries is whether the government of this nation shall be established in monarchy or in a free state or commonwealth, and most of our friends have engaged with us upon the hopes of having the government settled in a free state, and to effect that have undergone all their hazards and difficulties.

They being persuaded (though, I think, much mistaken) that under the government of a commonwealth they shall enjoy more liberty and right, both as to their

spiritual and civil concernments, than they shall under monarchy ; the pressures and dislike whereof are so fresh in their memories and sufferings.

Now, if your excellency shall take upon you the title of King, this state of our cause will be thereby wholly determined, and monarchy established in your person ; and the question will be no more whether our government shall be by a monarch or by a free state, but whether Cromwell or Stuart shall be our King and monarch.

And that question, wherein before so great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was universal, will by this means become in effect a private controversy only ; before, it was national what kind of government we should have, now it will become particular who shall be our governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts or of the family of the Cromwells.

Thus the state of our controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a commonwealth (and they are a very great and considerable party) having their hopes therein frustrated, will desert you, your hands will be weakened, your interest straitened, and your cause in apparent danger to be ruined.

CROMWELL. I confess you speak reason in this, but what other thing can you propound that may obviate the present dangers and difficulties wherein we are all engaged ?

WHITELOCK. It will be the greatest difficulty to find out such an expedient ; I have had many things in my private thoughts upon this business, some of which perhaps are not fit or safe for me to communicate.

CROMWELL. I pray, my lord, what are they ? You may trust me with them ; there shall no prejudice come to you by any private discourse betwixt us ; I shall never betray my friend ; you may be as free with me as with your own heart, and shall never suffer by it.

WHITELOCK. I make no scruple to put my life and fortune in your excellency's hand, and so I shall if I impart these fancies to you, which are weak and perhaps may prove offensive to your Excellency, therefore my best way will be to smother them.

CROMWELL. Nay, I prithee, my lord Whitelock, let me know them, be they what they will, they cannot be offensive to me, but I shall take it kindly from you ; therefore, I pray, do not conceal those thoughts of yours from your faithful friend.

WHITELOCK. Your Excellency honours me with a title far above me, and since you are pleased to command it, I shall discover to you my thoughts herein, and humbly desire you not to take in ill part what I shall say to you.

CROMWELL. Indeed I shall not, but I shall take it (as I said) very kindly from you.

WHITELOCK. Give me leave, then, first to consider your Excellency's condition : you are environed with secret enemies ; upon your subduing of the public enemy, the officers of your Army account themselves all victors, and to have had an equal share in the conquest with you.

The success which God hath given us hath not a little elated their minds, and many of them are busy and of turbulent spirits, and are not without their designs how they may dismount your Excellency, and some of themselves get up into the saddle—how they may bring you down and set up themselves.

They want not counsel and encouragement herein, it may be, from some mem-

bers of the Parliament, who may be jealous of your power and greatness, lest you should grow too high for them, and in time overmaster them ; and they will plot to bring you down first, or to clip your wings.

CROMWELL. I thank you that you so fully consider my condition ; it is a testimony of your love to me and care of me, and you have rightly considered it, and I may say, without vanity, that in my condition yours is involved, and all our friends, and those that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you.

Besides this, the cause itself may possibly receive some disadvantage by the strugglings and contentions among ourselves ; but what, sir, are your thoughts for prevention of those mischiefs that hang over our heads ?

WHITELOCK. Pardon me, sir, in the next place, a little to consider the condition of the King of Scots.

This Prince being now, by your valour and the success which God hath given to the Parliament and to the Army under your command, reduced to a very low condition, both he and all about him cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any terms whereby their lost hopes may be revived of his being restored to the Crown, and they to their fortunes and native country.

By a private treaty with him you may secure yourself and your friends, and their fortunes ; you may make yourself and your posterity as great and permanent, to all human probability, as ever any subject was, and provide for your friends. You may put such limits to monarchical power as will secure our spiritual and civil liberties, and you may secure the cause in which we are all engaged ; and this may be effectually done by having the power of the militia continued in yourself, and whom you shall agree upon after you.

I propound therefore for your Excellency to send to the King of Scots, and to have a private treaty with him for this purpose ; and I beseech you to pardon what I have said upon the occasion ; it is out of my affection and service to your Excellency, and to all honest men ; and I humbly pray you not to have any jealousy thereupon of my approved faithfulness to your Excellency and to this Commonwealth.

CROMWELL. I have not, I assure you, the least distrust of your faithfulness and friendship to me, and to the cause of this Commonwealth, and I think you have much reason for what you propound ; but it is a matter of so high importance and difficulty, that it deserves more of consideration and debate than is at present allowed us. We shall therefore take a further time to discourse of it.¹

Since that conversation in the Park with Whitelock, there had been various public and semi-public discussions of the project, and upon the ousting of the Long Parliament, a few of Cromwell's officers had pressed him to use that opportunity for assuming the regal dignity.² But he had steadily refused to

¹ Whitelock, vol. iii., p. 468.

² Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches*, vol. iii., p. 131.

seize the shining diadem without at least an appearance of popular consent. It was now left to this Second Parliament to formally invite him to wear the Crown.

But before they drew their discussions towards that stupendous topic, they endeavoured to impress upon the Lord Protector a proper sense of the vast unpopularity of his institution of the Major-Generals. Their efforts met with so much success that Cromwell withdrew his Major-Generals and abandoned the harsh system of decimation by which he had so severely oppressed the Royalists (January, 1657). This arrayed against him General Lambert, who, smarting already over the loss of the Lord Deputyship of Ireland, was now most reluctant to part with his military privileges in the north.

The negotiations for his assumption of the Crown began in February and lasted until May, 1657.¹ On Monday, February 23d, Sir Christopher Pack, an alderman, and member for London, gravely asked leave to introduce a Remonstrance from the Parliament to his Highness. The debate ran into the night, and when Pack received permission to read his paper a candle was brought in to enable him to do so. His Remonstrance proved to be a new Instrument of Government, in which the powers of the Parliament were somewhat more clearly defined and those of the Single Person rather enlarged. The discussion of this paper ran through the early spring, and under its new name, "*Petition and Advice Presented to his Highness*," the fact was finally acknowledged with all the formality of pen and ink, that Oliver Cromwell was desired by his people represented in Parliament to take upon himself the title and office of King of England. The vote was one hundred and twenty-three for the Kingship and sixty-two against. In the opposition were Lambert, Desborough, and Fleetwood, who passionately declared that Cromwell would never consent to it, "and therefore that it was very strange that any men should importune the putting such a question, before they knew that

¹ See the full speeches on the Kingship in Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches*, vol. iii., pp. 165 to 216.

he would accept it, unless they took this way to destroy him." ¹

On the Friday following Alderman Pack's broaching of the subject, the Kingship, having reached the public as a matter of news, was a question of very general debate. New party lines were instantly formed to square with the new proposition. And a delegation of one hundred officers came to the Lord Protector to tell him that they had heard of the project with real dismay; that its evil effects would be a scandal to the people of God; hazardous to His Highness's person; and would clear the way for the return of Charles Stuart.

Oliver answered them, that he now specifically heard of this project for the first time; *he* had not been caballing about it, for it or against it. He said, with some scorn, that the title of King need not startle them so palpably, as they had already offered it to him and pressed him to accept it when his Government was formed! The title was a mere feather in the hat. He suggested that all expedients had thus far failed. The Little Parliament, the First Protectorate Parliament, the Major-Generalcies had merely increased the common embarrassment. A House of Lords, as proposed to accompany the Kingship, would have a real value as a check upon any arbitrary propensities of a Single House of Commons. This was a reference to the case of one James Naylor who had permitted a company of ignorant women to worship him as Christ; whereupon this Parliament had condemned him to ride in a cart with his face to the tail, to be whipped, to be branded, to be set in the pillory, to be bored through the tongue with a hot iron, and then to labour in prison.² He dismissed the officers somewhat sharply; the matter was not in shape for him to say Yes or No.

On Thursday, March 31st, the Parliament waited upon him in the banqueting house in Whitehall, and presented their *Petition and Advice*, in which they offered him the Kingship with the power of naming his own successor. It was this prin-

¹ Clarendon, vol. vii., p. 196.

² Whitelock, vol. iv., p. 283.

ciple of the succession which led Lambert to oppose Cromwell's elevation, as his great ambition led him vainly to suppose that he would be made Lord Protector at Cromwell's death. Cromwell's reply was dignified, thoughtful and earnest. He did not refuse, neither did he display any coquetry or rash judgment in the face of such an overpowering temptation. He told them they had had time to prepare their plan; they must give him time to decide his course. He had lived the latter part of his life in the fire, in the midst of troubles. But nothing that had befallen him since he first engaged in the affairs of this Commonwealth had so moved his heart and spirit with the fear and reverence of God that became a Christian, as did this that they had offered him. He was perhaps at the end of his work, and he must not run upon such a work as this without due consideration. He must have time to ask counsel of God and of his own heart, and would give them a decision as speedily as the importance of the question would permit.

Three days later (April 3d) Cromwell wrote the Speaker that if he would send a committee to Whitehall he would give them an answer. The committee came,—Lord Broghill, General Montague, the Earl of Tweeddale, his cousin General Whalley, his brother-in-law General Desborough, and Bulstrode Whitelock.

He told them a sickness yesterday and the day before had prevented him from replying to their offer earlier. He must bear testimony how careful the Parliament had been of religion and civil liberty. He desired through this committee to return the Parliament his grateful thanks. But he must needs say, that that might be fit for them to offer which might not be fit for him to undertake. He begged them not to urge his reasons for it, excepting this, that he was not able for such a trust and charge. He had not been able to find it his duty to God to undertake this charge under that title. Really and sincerely it was his conscience that guided him to this answer, and he desired them to convey the substance of it to the Parliament.

This rejection of the high office was not peremptory. But

it conveyed to all the grave doubts which filled the Lord Protector's mind in regard to the wisdom and propriety of such a step. The opposition of the Army was becoming formidable. They had fought to destroy Kingship and could not now look with favour on the proposition to revive it. Without the full consent of the Army Cromwell could do nothing.

On April 8th the Parliament came again to the Lord Protector and, reminding him that they spoke in the name of the three nations, implored him to accept their *Petition and Advice*. He answered that he put great value on the desires and advice of his Parliament. There were many things in their paper which he would be glad to have elucidated to him. This meant that the negotiations might go on.

But the Fifth-Monarchy men looked on the proposal to name Cromwell King as a proposal to put him in the place of King Jesus, whose reign of a thousand years on earth was now ready to begin, if Oliver would but keep himself in the background. Accordingly, on the next day a large number of them gathered on Mile-End Green, near London. They had many chests of arms and many seditious pamphlets. One Venner, a wine-cooper, was their leader, and they were going to restore King Jesus and end King Oliver. But Oliver was well posted on their foolish plot; he and Thurloe were in possession of all its details. Before they had had time to greet each other at their rendezvous, Cromwell's soldiers charged them and arrested all the ringleaders. General Harrison, who was of their sect though not now with them, was likewise imprisoned. A very watchful Lord Protector !¹

Then the matter of the Kingship was resumed. On April 11th the committee appeared at Whitehall and presented to His Highness the reasons why he should be King. The arguments were spoken by the different members with clearness and force, and were based upon the grounds of expediency and law. Oliver debated with them; suggested his doubts; had them repeat their advice; asked further time to consider, and

¹ Thurloe, vol. vi., p. 184.

told them (this being Saturday) to come again on Monday morning.

So on Monday morning, April 13th, the full committee of ninety-nine persons waited upon him at Whitehall. He spoke at greater length than he had previously done on this question. He quoted some Latin maxims with easy confidence and displayed great learning and readiness in the law. Replying to their statement that the Kingship was known to the law and the Protectorship was not, he told them a King was made by supreme authority in the nation and that title could be changed by a similar supreme authority. What four or five letters gave the word King any superior signification? Twice the supreme authority had been exercised under titles differing from that: once by a Long Parliament called Keeper of the Liberties of England, and now by a Lord Protector. He had taken his present place not so much out of hope of doing any good as out of a desire to prevent mischief and evil. He was ready to serve, so far as he could, not as a King, but as a Constable. As the speech proceeded and the magnitude of the occasion impressed itself upon him and them, he turned his thoughts from the office to himself and to the history which had become associated with his destiny. With a touch of swelling pride, he told them this memorable secret of his success:

“If you do not all of you, I am sure some of you do, and it behooves me to say that I do, know my calling from the first to this day. I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater: from my first being a Captain of a Troop of Horse, and did labour as well as I could to discharge my trust, and God blessed me therein as it pleased Him. And I did truly and plainly,—and in a way of foolish simplicity, as it was judged by very great and wise men, and good men, too,—desire to make my instruments help me in that work. And I will deal plainly with you: I had a very worthy friend then, and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all,—Mr. John Hampden. At my first going out into this engagement, I saw our men were beaten at every hand. I did indeed; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex’s army, of some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you; God knows I lie not.”¹ ‘Your troops,’ said I, ‘are most of them

¹ A common phrase at that time, frequently used in Oliver’s speeches.

old decayed serving men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows, and,' said I, 'their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them?' Truly I did represent to him in this manner conscientiously; and truly I did tell him: 'You must get men of a spirit: and take it not ill what I say,—I know you will not,—of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else you will be beaten still.' I told him so; I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. Truly I told him I could do somewhat in it. I did so, [*that is, he himself enlisted such men*] and truly I must needs say this to you,—impute it to what you please,—I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did. And from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually! And truly this is matter of praise to God:—and it hath some instruction in it to own¹ men who are religious and godly."

He then discussed their argument that it was "necessary" for him to assume the royal title, and proved to them that it was not necessary. The grounds of expediency were next approached, and his remarks showed them that he was very far from having come to a decision, but that the tendency of his thoughts was to reject the title. He told them to come to him again the next day, and dismissed them.

The next day, which was Tuesday, they came to Whitehall, and Cromwell sent word that he could not see them as he was not in health. On Wednesday they came again, but the Lord Protector was suffering from a cold. Again on Thursday they appeared, and Oliver met them. The committee laboured with him, endeavouring with much learning and some eloquence to overcome his scruples. They told him he was rejecting the advice of his Parliament, which not even the actual Kings of England would do. They appealed to his sense of duty. After hearing their speeches, he told them to come again to-morrow.

On Friday the Parliament came to him, but he would not meet them. On Monday, April 20th, they came again, and he addressed them ambiguously in the old strain, keeping every

¹ Own, as he used it, means acknowledge.

mind in doubt and satisfying them in nothing; and concluding with an invitation to come the next day. On Tuesday they came and in his longest speech he presented them with his views on their *Petition and Advice*, except as to the Kingship, which he did not even mention.

The Parliament returned to Westminster much disappointed. They had expected a decisive answer, and were met merely with further procrastination. But it was the general opinion that Cromwell would accept the title in his own time, and the House spent the next two weeks in further debating the proposed new rules of Government under their *Petition and Advice*.

In the meantime the Lord Protector held several private conferences with the Parliamentary leaders, in which his scruples were not put forward so prominently. He was frequently closeted with Whitelock, Lord Broghill, Thurloe, and others for three or four hours together, when he would sometimes lay aside his greatness, and by way of diversion make verses, directing every one in his turn to try his skill at rhyming. He usually called for pipes and tobacco, and frequently smoked with them. But after being most familiar he could instantly resume a natural and imposing dignity.¹

But while some of Cromwell's scruples in the Kingship arose from his conscience, they would have been silenced had not the chiefs of the Army so plainly indicated their opposition to the scheme. Sir Francis Russell wrote (April 27th) to Henry Cromwell, his son-in-law, that he expected in his next letter to address him as Duke of York, as the Lord Protector was expected soon to take the kingly power upon him.² Cromwell told Whitelock privately that he was satisfied in his own mind of the expediency of accepting the Crown; and Whitelock says

¹ Whitelock, vol. iv., p. 289. Whitelock relates another anecdote which illustrates Cromwell's affability: "As they" [Cromwell and Ireton], he says, "went home from my house, their coach was stopped and they examined by the guards, to whom they told their names; but the captain of the guards would not believe them, and threatened to carry these two great officers to the court of guard. Ireton grew a little angry, but Cromwell was cheerful with the soldiers, gave them twenty shillings, and commended them and their captain for doing their duty."

² Forster, p. 608 (footnote).

the arrangements for his coronation were made.¹ But the most obstinate resistance was encountered in his own family. Fleetwood and Desborough, the one married to his daughter, the other to his sister, opposed him inflexibly. So did his cousin, General Whalley. Cromwell had them to dinner, and told them the monarchy was but a feather in a man's cap, and he therefore wondered that men would not please the children and permit them to enjoy their rattle. But they told him there was more in this matter than he perceived; that those who were the most assiduously pressing the title upon him were the secret friends of Charles Stuart; and that he would inevitably ruin himself and his friends if he yielded to this temptation. He answered them merely that they were over-scrupulous.² On another occasion, when he had called the Parliament to receive his reply, he met Desborough in the Park and told him that he expected to consent; to which Desborough answered that he then gave both the cause and Cromwell's family for lost, and while he would not act against him, neither would he affiliate with his plans in the future. When Desborough arrived at his house he met Colonel Pride and told him of Cromwell's resolution to accept the Crown. Pride vowed that he should never do it, and when asked how he would prevent it, said it could be done by presenting a petition against it from the Army to the Parliament. They both went to Dr. Owen and prevailed upon him to draw up a petition.

The Parliament was in session, expecting every moment to be summoned to Whitehall to receive Cromwell's affirmative answer, when Desborough announced that there was a deputation of officers outside who desired to present a petition. It was at once assumed that as Desborough announced the petition its contents were favourable to the Kingship. The amazement of the House may therefore be partially understood when they heard the petition read, in which the officers declared that they had hazarded their lives against Monarchy, and were

¹ Whitelock, vol. iv., p. 288. Welwood asserts that a Crown was actually made and brought to Whitehall. This is not unlikely.

² Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 586.

still ready to do so, in defence of the liberties of the nation ; that having observed in some men great endeavours to bring the nation again under its old servitude, by pressing their General to take on him the title and government of a King, in order to destroy him, and weaken the hands of those who were faithful to the public, they therefore humbly desired that the Parliament would discountenance all such persons and endeavours, and continue steadfast to the GOOD OLD CAUSE, for the preservation of which they for their parts were most ready to lay down their lives. This petition was signed by nine colonels, eight majors, and sixteen captains, who, with those officers who were opposing the title as members of the House, made up the majority of the Army officers then stationed at London.¹

There was great consternation in the Parliament, and the clerk had scarcely finished reading the petition before Cromwell was apprised of the affair. He sent instantly for Fleetwood and reproached him for permitting the petition to be brought in when he already knew of his resolution to refuse the Crown unless the Army would consent. He instructed him to go at once to the House and prevent any discussion of the petition²; and by another messenger he summoned them to Whitehall. This was on the 8th of May, 1657.

It was certainly an extraordinary occasion. Here was a man who was both a supreme conqueror and a dictator, met with a perfectly friendly Parliament to refuse the title of King of England which they had implored him to accept. He could see the sullen Army in the background. The offer was the colossal temptation of his life ; its rejection was doubtless his greatest disappointment. He said :

“MR. SPEAKER : I come hither to answer that that was in your last paper to your committee you sent to me, which was in relation to the desires that were offered me by the House in That they called their Petition. [*The Petition and Advice.*] I confess, that business hath put the House, the Parliament, to a great deal of trouble, and spent much time [*February 23rd to May 8th, over ten weeks*]. I am very sorry for that. It hath cost me some, too, and some thoughts : and because I have been the unhappy occasion of the expense of so much time, I shall spend little on it now.”

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 590.

² *Ibid.*

He spoke in commendation of some of the improvements that they proposed to introduce into the Government, in regard to liberty of conscience and civil rights. He then said :

“ I have only had the unhappiness, both in my conferences with your committees, and in the best thoughts I could take to myself, not to be convinced of the necessity of that thing which hath been so often insisted on by you,—to wit, the title of King,—as in itself so necessary as it seems to be apprehended by you. And yet I do, with all honour and respect, testify that, *cæteris paribus*, no private judgment is to be in the balance with the judgment of Parliament. But in things that respect particular persons,—every man who is to give an account to God of his actions, he must in some measure be able to prove his own work, and to have an approbation in his own conscience of that which he is to do or to forbear. And whilst you are granting others’ liberties, surely you will not deny *me* this; it being not only a liberty but a duty, and such a duty as I cannot without sinning forbear,—to examine my own heart and thoughts and judgment, in every work which I am to set my hand to, or to appear in or for. . . . I have truly thought, and I do still think, that, at the best, if I should do anything on this account to answer your expectation, at the best I should do it doubtingly. And certainly whatsoever is so is not of faith. And whatsoever is not so, whatsoever is not of faith, is sin to him that doth it.”

He was approaching the climax; they hardly yet believed he would refuse. He said :

“ I, lying under this consideration, think it my duty—Only I could have wished I had done it sooner, for the sake of the House, who have laid such infinite obligations on me; I wish I had done it sooner for your sake, and for saving time and trouble; and for the committee’s sake, to whom I must acknowledge I have been unreasonably troublesome! But truly this is my answer, That (although I think the Act of Government doth consist of very excellent parts, in all but that one thing, of the title as to me) I should not be an honest man, if I did not tell you that I cannot accept of the Government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of it—as to which I have a little more experimented than everybody what troubles and difficulties do befall men under such trusts and in such undertakings—[Sentence breaks down]—I say I am persuaded to return this Answer to you, that I cannot undertake this Government with the title of King. And that is mine answer to this great and weighty business.”

The Parliament silently withdrew. The Kingship was thus put aside forever.

The House granted the Protector some needed supplies, putting a tax of £340,000 a month on England, £6000 on Scotland, and £9000 on Ireland. They completed their *Petition and Advice*,¹ providing for the continuation of the present

¹ Printed in Whitelock, vol. iv., p. 292.

title of Lord Protector, and creating a second House, intended to be a House of Lords, to consist of seventy members to be named by Cromwell, but which was alluded to at all times dubiously as "the Other House." They stipulated for the admittance of the excluded members, for an election of a free Parliament once in three years, for the non-interference with their privileges, and for a disuse of the law-making power by the Lord Protector and his Council. Cromwell approved this Instrument, and the Parliament adjourned June 20th, not to meet again for seven months.¹ The purposes of this long adjournment were: to allow Cromwell to choose the members of the Other House, and to install him a second time as Lord Protector under the authority of the Parliament.

On the 26th of June, 1657, Cromwell, with most magnificent ceremonies, was again proclaimed Lord Protector. He entered Westminster Hall with all the pomp that his civil and military administration could afford. A platform was raised at the upper end of the hall, on which there was a chair of State. Cromwell stood in front of this wearing the robes of State. Around him were the Earl of Warwick, the Dutch and French Ambassadors, Richard Cromwell, Fleetwood, Claypole, the Earl of Manchester, Lord Wharton, Montague, Whitelock, and others, all with drawn swords. After the heralds had commanded silence, Speaker Widdrington, on behalf of the Parliament, presented him with a rich and elegant robe of purple velvet, lined with ermine; a Bible, ornamented with bosses and clasps, richly gilt; a sword of exquisite workmanship; and a sceptre of massy gold; each of which was explained by Widdrington to be symbolical of his relations to the State. Cromwell then took the oath, and after a prayer by Mr. Manton, the heralds proclaimed him Lord Protector, the trumpets sounded, and the people shouted their loud huzzas. After this Cromwell returned to Whitehall in all the sovereignty of a King save the name and the Crown.²

¹ Whitelock, vol. iv., p. 303.

² Whitelock, vol. iv., p. 303: Edmund Prestwick's account, Forster, p. 638 (Appendix).

Was this inauguration sufficient to preserve his power? Could it maintain his prestige and authority? Did his necessary dictatorship and despotism receive any greater degree of real loyalty from the people? We fear not. It seems rather to be possible to trace, from the day on which the public became aware of his inability to accept the Kingship, a gradual and almost imperceptible diminution of the power of his sway, a doubt of the sufficiency of his Government, and an ill-disguised wish for the ancient forms of King and Parliament. But while his honours sat wearily on him at home, his name abroad was becoming more than ever illustrious. His Ironsides—his God-fearing men, his men of religion—were winning those victories at Mardike and Dunkirk which have been already described, and Louis XIV. had personally come to their camp to inspect the Army, he said, of a Prince whom he had always considered as the greatest and happiest in Europe. Lord Fauconberg, who married Mary Cromwell (18th November, 1657), was sent by Oliver on a wedding tour as ambassador to France, and was received by Louis like a Prince of the Blood.¹

Within a few weeks of this second inauguration Cromwell resigned the office of Chancellor of the University of Oxford, considering it incompatible with his present dignity to longer hold that position.

When the Parliament (January 20, 1658) reassembled, the Other House, which had been created in the interim, occupied the House of Lords. Under the *Petition and Advice* the one hundred excluded members sat with the Commons. In the Other House, sitting as Lords, were Richard and Henry Cromwell, Whitelock, Lisle, Glyn, Widdrington, Desborough, Sir Francis Rouse, Alderman Pack; William Lenthall, the Long

¹ Lord Clarendon mysteriously hints that Fauconberg had a secret design in marrying Cromwell's daughter which was not unfavourably known to the Royalists. "There were many reasons to believe," he says, "that this young gentleman, being then of about three or four and twenty years of age, of great vigour and ambition, had many good purposes, which he thought that alliance might qualify, and enable him to perform."—Vol. vii., p. 211.

Parliament Speaker; Jones, Fleetwood, and Claypole. Hazelrig had been named a Lord, but he scornfully rejected the title. Oliver had summoned sixty-one members, including several of his Council, some gentlemen of family, and a few lawyers and officers. Of eight ancient peers who were called only two responded, Lord Eure, and Lord Fauconberg, his son-in-law. Lords Warwick, Manchester, Mulgrave, and Wharton refused to come. The Earl of Warwick, his old friend, whose grandson, Mr. Rich, was now married (11th November, 1657) to Fanny Cromwell, declared that he could not sit in the same assembly with Colonel Hewson, who had been a shoemaker, and Colonel Pride, who had been a drayman. The experience of this Other House was very dismal. The House of Commons refused to treat it with any respect, its pretensions were received with very general contempt, and even Cromwell finally became ashamed of it.

Cromwell opened the Parliament in the House of Lords under a canopy of State, commencing his speech with the ancient form. My Lords and Gentlemen. He told them that after the expense of so much blood and treasure they were now to search for what blessings God had in store for these nations. The cause of the quarrel, in which most of them had been actors, was the maintaining of the liberty of these nations, our civil liberties as men, our spiritual liberties as Christians. Poisonous Popish ceremonies had been imposed upon those that were accounted the Puritans of the nation, and professors of religion among us—driving them to seek their bread in a howling wilderness, as was instanced to our friends who were forced to fly for Holland, New England, almost anywhither, to find liberty for their consciences.

He then descanted in his exalted way on the 85th Psalm, and expounded the mercies of God, "who had pardoned all their iniquities and covered all their sin, and taken away all His wrath. Pardoning, as God pardoneth the man whom he justifieth! He breaks through, and overlooks iniquity; and pardoneth because He will pardon. And sometimes God pardoneth nations, also." Hear this Puritan speaking to his

Parliament! If he could only make them see as he saw, and feel as he felt, all would yet be well!

"But what's the reason, think you," he continued, "that men slip in this age wherein we live? As I told you before, they love not the works of God. They consider not the operation of His laws. They consider not that God resisted and broke in pieces the Powers that were, that men might fear Him,—[that they] might have liberty to do and enjoy all that we have been speaking of. Which certainly God has manifested to have been the end; and so hath He brought the things to pass! *Therefore* it is that men yet slip, and engage themselves against God."

He said he was in infirm health and could not speak long; he had been much in ill-health of late, we find by the old books. If they succeeded in the work which they had been called there to do, "you," said Oliver, "shall all be called the Blessed of the Lord. The generations to come will bless us. You shall be 'the repairers of breaches, and the restorers of paths to dwell in!'" And if there be any higher work which mortals can attain unto in the world beyond this, I acknowledge my ignorance of it."¹

After concluding his speech the Lord Protector withdrew, and the trouble instantly began. The new House sent a message to the old House proposing that His Highness be requested to have a day of fasting. Under the incendiary lead of the restored Republicans, Hazelrig and Scott, the old House began a heated debate as to what name their new House was to have. The *Petition and Advice* simply called it the Other House. For five days the time-serving members debated this foolish point, forgetting that their continued discussions might spread abroad and bring about a Restoration in time which would lay the heads of some of these very speakers beneath the revengeful axe of Charles II.²

It was a bad time for dissensions among the Puritans. A

¹ *Letters and Speeches*, vol. iii., p. 235.

² Scott was executed among the Regicides. Hazelrig died just in time to escape a like fate.

few days ago the Duke of Ormond, disguised so that not even Cromwell's matchless system of espionage could detect him, had come into England. He stopped at Colchester to play at shuffleboard and drink hot ale with the farmers, and then came right on to London, "a rustic-looking man." He was just from Flanders; had organised a Spanish invasion; had four Irish regiments already at his service—the same which had fled before Montague and Lockhart on the Continent; Don John had promised ten thousand Spaniards more; and Ormond was come to England to stir up the Royalists to revolt, so that a general and bloody war might ensue.¹

Oliver knew these things,—all but the presence of Ormond in his capital,—and he summoned his refractory Parliament before him January 25th, only five days after their last meeting. He was still feeling indisposed, but he delivered an address which gave them a full and forcible view of the domestic and foreign situation. Without indicating an alarm within his own mind, he spoke with a candour and directness which left no room in the minds of any of them to doubt the peril that surrounded them. It was, perhaps, his ablest speech. He vividly described the dangers from abroad which threatened the common cause of Puritan England and of Protestantism. He told them in still more direct words of the perils which infested the country from the Cavaliers at home. His own life had been attempted—his assassination had been publicly urged as a boon to the nation in a pamphlet entitled *Killing No Murder*.² But

¹ Carte's *Life of Ormond*.

² I have a copy of this rare pamphlet, severally alleged to have been written by William Allen, by Colonel Silas Titus, and by Colonel Edward Sexby. Sexby, while a prisoner in the Tower of London, professed that he "owned it as his work, and was still of the same judgment." Thurloe, vol. vi., p. 560. It is dedicated to Cromwell and opens in a style of lively irony. "To your Highness," says the writer, "justly belongs the honour of dying for the people; and it cannot choose but be an unspeakable consolation to you in the last moments of your life, to consider with how much benefit to the world you are likely to leave it. It is then only, my Lord, the titles you now usurp will be truly yours. You will then be indeed the deliverer of your country, and free it from a bondage little inferior to that from which Moses delivered his. This we hope from your Highness's happy

especially he directed their attention to the condition of the Army. His soldiers on the 25th of January were barefoot. Both those here and in Scotland were six months in arrears in their pay, and those in Ireland were much more behind. He intimated very plainly that either with or without their help he would do his duty to the nation. He said :

" I have taken my oath to govern according to the laws that are now made ; and I trust I shall fully answer it. And know, I sought not this place. I speak it before God, Angels and Men : I DID NOT. You sought me for it, you brought me to it ; and I took my oath to be faithful to the interests of these nations, to be faithful to the Government. All those things were implied, in my eye, in the oath to be faithful to this Government, upon which we have now met. And I trust, by the grace of God, as I have taken my oath to serve this Commonwealth on such an account, I shall—I MUST—see it done, according to the Articles of Government. That every just interest may be preserved ; that a godly ministry may be upheld, and not affronted by seducing and seduced spirits ; that all men may be preserved in their just rights, whether civil or spiritual. Upon this account did I take oath, and swear to this Government ! And so having declared my heart and mind to you in this, I have nothing more to say, but to pray, God Almighty bless you." ¹ . . .

He had pointed out their dangers ; from the mountain tops he had warned them. What would they do ?

expiration, who are the true father of your country ; for, while you live, we can call nothing ours, and it is from your death that we hope for our inheritances."

The author argues that as in a family the head must protect all ; so in a nation, which is composed of several families, the representatives of all must maintain a common protection. He asks Cromwell : " Who made thee a prince and judge over us ? If God made thee, make it manifest to us. If the people, where did we meet to do it ? Who took our subscriptions ? To whom deputed we our authority ? . . . If to decimate men's estates, and by his own power to impose upon the people what taxes he pleases ; and to maintain all this by force of arms : If, I say, all this does make a tyrant, his own impudence cannot deny but he is as complete a one as ever hath been since there have been societies of men. He that hath done, and does all this, is the person for whose preservation the people of England must pray ; but certainly if they do, 't is for the same reason that the old woman of Syracuse prayed for the long life of the tyrant Dyonisius, lest the Devil should come next." The author then quotes from Holy Writ passages, which he interprets to require that such rulers shall be put to death, as Deuteronomy, xvii., 12 (which he misquotes) : " Death to that man that would do presumptuously, and submit to no decision of justice." This scurrilous and wicked pamphlet created a great excitement and undoubtedly threw Cromwell into much perturbation of mind.

¹ Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches*, vol. iii., p. 243.

For ten days longer the Parliament continued to invite destruction by its unimpeded torrent of debate. Some very useful bills were indeed presented ; there were some members there who desired to see this Government succeed. But Hazell, Scott, and other Republicans who disliked the framework of the new constitution, shutting their eyes to the spirit of it, were utterly irrepressible. Oliver stood near by, and the gathering gloom on his brow might have indicated to them that they were trifling with the lion. But they seemed to forget about England and all her interests, and talked on unceasingly.

Unceasingly, until Oliver stopped them. On the 4th of February, 1658, he came down to the House of Lords and summoned both Houses before him. It was only fifteen days since their reassembling. His bearing was now calm and dignified ; but his speech was full of suppressed passion. He reminded them that they had called him to take his present place. He reproached them for not supporting the Government. He would rather have lived under his woodside and tended a flock of sheep than rule alone. He informed them that Charles Stuart had an army at the water's edge ready to invade England, which they had known and had taken no measures to prevent. The speech was brief and full of cold scorn. Its concluding sentence struck amazement into the dull, constitutional heads of the members. After mentioning the threatened invasion, he said : " And if this be so, I do assign it to the cause : Your not assenting to what you did invite me to by your *Petition and Advice*, as that which might prove the settlement of the nation. And if this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage, I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. AND I DO DISSOLVE THIS PARLIAMENT. And let God be the judge between you and me." ¹

¹ Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches*, vol. iii., p. 264. A letter from Samuel Hartlib to Mr. Pell, who was Cromwell's agent in Switzerland, just one week after this dissolution, throws a valuable light on the Lord Protector's motive in that affair : " Believe me, Sir," he writes, " it was of such necessity, that, if the session had continued but two or three days longer, all had been in blood, both in city and country, upon Charles Stuart's account. An army of ten thousand might have ap-

The members filed out of the ancient halls, chagrined under his stinging rebuke. And as his Second and last Parliament vanished finally from the scene, Cromwell felt, perhaps for the first time, the full weight of the refractory empire whose Government must be borne upon his shoulders ALONE.

peared with an ugly petition to the Parliament for the re-establishing this person, presuming they should find a party favourable to their views in that assembly. Another army of ten thousand men was at the same time preparing to land in England, by the juggling (to say no worse) of our good neighbours on the Continent. Besides, there was another petition set on foot in the city, for a Commonwealth, which would have gathered like a snow-ball. But, by the resolute, sudden, dissolving of the Parliament, both these dangerous designs were mercifully prevented. Whether we shall have another Parliament shortly, or a grand council of only *optimates* in the meantime, we cannot tell."—*The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell*, by Robert Vaughan, D.D., London, 1839, 2 vols., vol. ii., p. 441.





CHAPTER XXVI.

DEATH OF CROMWELL.

Cromwell's Public Mission—Financial Embarrassment—Purposes to Call a Third Parliament—Justice against Conspirators—Domestic Bereavements—Death of his Daughter—Crushing Effect of her Death—His Energies Worn out—His Last Sickness—Finds Consolation in the Scriptures—Rides at the Head of his Life-Guard—A Puritan on his Death-Bed—Names Richard to Succeed him—His Death.

TO keep English Puritanism paramount, with its Open Bible and Drawn Sword,—this was the mission which it was Oliver Cromwell's destiny to fulfil. In the matter of finances he was grievously embarrassed, for he dared not now to lay a general tax without consent of Parliament. One Cony, who had refused to pay an arbitrary assessment, had been imprisoned, and when he employed counsel to defend him, Cromwell audaciously sent his three lawyers to the Tower. But the incident convinced him that popular consent was essential to taxation, and his broad perceptions at once conceived another Parliament which might prove to be more patriotic to the cause.¹ With a third Parliament, pliable to his will, he hoped for a law which would permit him to fill his empty coffers by taxing the Royalists even to one-half of their estates.²

It was not long before he discovered the presence of the Duke of Ormond in London; and that nobleman, one morning in March, while reposing at the house of a Catholic surgeon in a very thorough disguise, was thunderstruck when his friend

¹ Thurloe, vol. vii., pp. 84, 99, 128 (April and May, 1658).

² *Ibid.*, p. 192.

Lord Broghill came to him direct from Cromwell and advised him to leave England immediately. He adopted the advice with alacrity and made haste to the Continent, where he informed Charles Stuart that it was useless to attempt an invasion at present, Oliver being too well prepared for them.¹

An insurrection which had been stirred up in London was crushed by the watchful Protector, and its leaders were punished. It is amazing to find that Sir William Waller was concerned in this affair, and that even Fairfax was expected to support it at the proper time.² Among the ringleaders was Dr. John Hewit, an Episcopal clergyman, who had contributed his personal influence towards the plot to restore the exiled King. He was brought to trial before a High Court of Justice, and with him was arraigned Sir Henry Slingsby, who, not content with his connection with a former assassination plot, had just been caught tampering with the officers at Hull, seeking to gain that famous fortress over to the interest of his master. Slingsby was an uncle of Lord Fauconberg, the Protector's son-in-law, but this served him not. Neither could numerous petitions from prominent persons in behalf of Dr. Hewit secure mercy for him. Both the offenders were beheaded on Tower Hill on the 8th of June, 1658.

In the same June days the crowning victory of Oliver's wars was secured by the capture of Dunkirk, and Mazarin sent over a splendid embassy personally to congratulate the Protector.

Amid the exhilaration of victory, personal afflictions began to fall upon Cromwell. Young Robert Rich, the Earl of Warwick's grandson, who had married Frances Cromwell last November, died in February (16th, 1658), after a wedded life of only three months; and poor Fanny's heart was broken. Cromwell sympathised passionately with her sorrow. The Earl of Warwick, who was much esteemed by Cromwell, died on May 19th, of this year. Just before his death, while bowed under the bereavement of young Rich's demise, the Earl had written to Oliver in these words, replying to a letter of con-

¹ Carte's *Life of Ormond*.

² Thurloe, vol. vii., pp. 83, 84, 100.

dolence from the Protector, which has not been preserved: "Others' goodness is their own; yours is a whole country's, yea, three Kingdoms', for which you justly possess interest and renown with great and good men; virtue is a thousand escutcheons. Go on, my Lord; go on happily, to love religion, to exemplify it. May your Lordship long continue an instrument of use, a pattern of virtue, and a precedent of glory."

But a greater trial was in store for Cromwell. His favourite daughter, Elizabeth Claypole, fell sick of a painful and distressing malady, affecting the internal organs. The physicians did not seem to understand her case,¹ and they were unable to afford her any relief. The Protector flung aside all business of the State and sat by her bedside for twenty-four days.² It was a sorrowful scene there at Hampton Court, when, on the 6th day of August, 1658, this beloved daughter breathed her last.³

The painful agonies of her long sickness had cut like a knife to Cromwell's heart, and her death was insupportable and

¹ Fleetwood's letter to Henry Cromwell, Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 295.

² Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 295, writes to H. Cromwell, July 27th, that Cromwell had then sat with her for fourteen days, and the Dutch Ambassador writes (p. 298) on the 9th of August, that up to the 6th of that month Oliver could not be persuaded to leave her bedside.

³ Partisan spirit had seized upon the death-bed of this beloved daughter, so touchingly watched over by the stricken father, to throw a horrible calumny upon the episode. Ludlow says, p. 607: "Mrs. Claypoole laboured earnestly with her father to save the life of Dr. Hewit without success, which denial so afflicted her, that it is reported to have been one cause of her death." Heath, p. 405, tells the same story. Noble says she threw herself upon her knees and pleaded vainly for the life of Hewit, at whose house "she frequented to hear Divine worship according to the Church of England." Dr. Bates, who was present in her sickness, does not refer to the Hewit incident, but says she upbraided her father for his crimes. Clarendon, who was not there, says she "presented his worst actions to his consideration." And Hume transcends all the others in his account of the affair. But they are all refuted by the best witness, the poor daughter herself, who, writing to Henry Cromwell's wife in Ireland only seven weeks before her own death, expresses her great joy and thankfulness to God at the detection of the plot in which Hewit had been a ringleader, and which, if it had gone on, she says, "not only our family would have been ruined, but in all probability the whole nation would have been involved in blood."—Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 171.

crushing. When, after her funeral, he failed to recover his accustomed strength and it became necessary to acknowledge that he was dangerously sick, a fearful alarm possessed his friends. The stupendous results that would follow the death of the Lord Protector had not been seriously considered by the Puritans until the moment when the grim spectre seemed to approach.

He had been in ill-health for some time. As far back as the battle of Dunbar he had written to his wife that he had felt the infirmities of age stealing over him. The robust energies of life had been prematurely sapped by the too vigorous existence which he had led.¹ His gout seemed to leave his leg and retire into his body, and for four or five days he was racked with intolerable pain in his bowels and back, which made it impossible for him to sleep. But by August 17th he was so far improved as to be able to ride out for an hour, to the unspeakable joy of his friends.² Within a few days it developed that his sickness was due to an intermittent, or tertian, fever and ague, the fits attacking him with great violence every other day. On one of the intermediate days (August 24th),³ he felt well enough to be removed from Hampton Court to Whitehall, and the only business that he would consider was that the writs for calling the new Parliament be postponed.⁴

In one of his moments of repining for the death of the dear Elizabeth he had them read this passage from Philippians: "Not that I speak in respect of want; for I have learned in whatever state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound. Everywhere and by all things, I am instructed; both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things, through Christ which strengtheneth me."⁵ His thoughts reverted over many years to his first-born, Robert, who had died at Felsted

¹ Dr. Bates's *post-mortem* report.

² Thurloe, vol. vii., pp. 322, 340.

³ Thurloe's despatch to Henry Cromwell, Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 354.

⁴ Dr. Clarges's despatch to Henry Cromwell, Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 355.

⁵ Philippians iv., 11, 12, 13.

School, nineteen years ago, in the flower of young manhood. "That Scripture did once save my life," he told them,—“when my eldest son died, which went as a dagger to my heart indeed it did.”¹

He then repeated Paul's words: "But I rejoiced in the Lord greatly, that now at the last your care of me hath flourished again, wherein ye were also careful, but ye lacked opportunity. Not that I speak in respect of want; for I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content." His habit of expounding was strong. "It's true, Paul, you have learned this, and attained to this measure of grace. But what shall I do? Ah, poor creature, it is a hard lesson for me to take out. I find it so." But when he again came to the words, "I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me," his faith was strong, and he cried, "He that was Paul's Christ is my Christ too!"

While he was taking that last ride in the fresh air at Hampton Court, George Fox, the Quaker, approached him to intercede for the Society of Friends. This was on August 20th. "I met him riding into Hampton Court Park," says Fox; "and before I came to him, as he rode at the head of his Life-Guard, I saw and felt a waft of death go forth against him."

But the belief which had followed Cromwell throughout his life, that he was privileged to hold personal communication with the Most High God, was strangely asserted in these last days. He besought the Lord that, for the good of his people, he would spare his life a little longer; and he then announced that his prayer had been granted, using a manner of such mysterious assurance that his hearers were transported with amazement.²

¹ *A Collection of Several Passages concerning His Late Highness, Oliver Cromwell, in the time of his Sickness, by One that was then Groom of his Bed-Chamber (Harvey), London, 1659, p. 11.*

² "His Highness hath made very great discoveries of the Lord to him in his sickness, and hath some assurances of his being restored, and made further serviceable in this work; this latter is secretly kept, and therefore I shall desire that it may not go further than your own breast; but I think there may be that in this experience that may truly be worthy of your further knowledge." Fleetwood's

One of his chaplains, Dr. Goodwin, thereupon made this strange prayer: "Lord, we beg not for his recovery, for that Thou hast already granted, and assured us of, but for his speedy recovery."¹

The whole body of that theology which had ever been the meat and drink of his soul, sustained him in the hour of his last combat. He spoke of there having been two covenants,—one of works, in which personal responsibility was a fearful thing; and one of grace, in which the Father of Mercy overlooks and pardons all, to those who believe. "There were two," he exclaimed, while earth was growing dark around him; "two, but put into one before the foundation of the world." Again: "It is holy and true, it is holy and true, it is holy and true! Who made it holy and true? Who kept it holy and true? The great Mediator of the Covenant!" Here was indeed the very soul of Puritanism on its death-bed! "The Covenant is but one," he said. "Faith in the Covenant is my only support. Yet, if I believe not, he abides faithful!"

"Whatsoever sins thou hast, doest, or shall commit," he said, "if you lay hold upon free grace, you are safe, but if you put yourself under a covenant of works, you bring yourself under the law, and so under the curse; then you are gone."²

His eyes, great and glorious, their fire undimmed by sick-

despatch to H. Cromwell, August 24, 1658. Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 355. To this letter Henry Cromwell replied: "The particular assurances given to His Highness, to which his experience on former occasions bears some witness, gives me some relief, though most letters fill us with fears." Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 376. Dr. Bates relates that on one occasion, when five physicians came to prescribe for the Lord Protector, Cromwell said, "Ye physicians think I shall die." "Then the company being removed, holding his wife by the hand, to this purpose he spoke to him: 'I tell you I shall not die of this disorder; I am sure of it.' And because he observed them to look more attentively upon him at these words, 'Don't think,' said he, 'that I am mad. I speak the words of truth, upon surer grounds than your Galen or Hippocrates furnish you with. God Almighty himself hath given that answer, not to my prayers alone, but also to the prayers of those who entertain a stricter commerce, and greater intimacy with him. Go on cheerfully, banish all sadness from your looks, and deal with me as you would with a serving-man. Ye may have skill in the nature of things, yet nature can do more than all physicians put together; and God is far more above nature.'"

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 610.

² Harvey, p. 5.

ness, fell upon his weeping wife and children.¹ Tenderly he said to them, "Love not this world. I say unto you, it is not good that you should love this world. Children, live like Christians:—I leave you the Covenant to feed upon!"

There were moments when excruciating pain seemed to plunge his faith into darkness. Once he moaned, "Is there none that says, Who will deliver me from the peril?" Nearly every Puritan in England was then praying for him. "Man can do nothing," he said, "God can do what He will. Is there none that will come and praise God?"

All his mighty battles were but as childrens' combats compared with this death struggle. "Lord," he said, speaking with Omnipotence again in that confidential way, "Thou knowest that if I desire to live, it is to show forth Thy praise and declare Thy works?" Three times he cried, with extreme vehemence of spirit: "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God!" Election, Predestination, were the images that arose in his mind. And then the promises of Christ relieved him: "All the promises of God are in Him: Yes, and in Him, Amen; to the glory of God by us,—by us in Jesus Christ." Soon all was serene. "The Lord hath filled me with as much assurance of His pardon, and His love, as my soul can hold." There was self-abasement in this: "I think I am the poorest wretch that lives: but I love God; or rather, am beloved by God." The conflicts of his life suggested this to the Christian soldier: "I am a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, through Christ that strengtheneth me!"²

His fever had now become a double tertian, twice burning the blood in his veins on every alternate day, then leaving him in a chill like death. He uttered this prayer:

"Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with Thee through grace. And I may, I will, come to Thee for Thy People. Thou hast made me, though very

¹ Of Mary Cromwell, Fauconberg wrote to her brother Henry: "I know not what on earth to do with her. When seemingly quieted, she bursts out again into a passion that tears her very heart to pieces."

² Harvey's account, p. 5.

unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and Thee service ; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death ; but Lord, however Thou dost dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love ; and go on to deliver them ; and with the work of reformation make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much upon Thy instruments, to depend more upon Thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too. And pardon the folly of this short prayer :—Even for Jesus Christ's sake. And give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure. Amen.”¹

On Thursday night, September 2d, Thurloe, his faithful secretary, and Fauconberg, his son-in-law, together with four or five of the Council, being present, he was asked to name his successor. He had written a paper containing his wishes in the matter, previous to the assembling of his first Parliament, and Thurloe was told where it could be found. The strictest search failed to discover it ; and Cromwell seemed strangely reluctant now to nominate his successor. But when they named Richard for the office, he at length indicated his consent that it should be so.²

Then Cromwell turned his thoughts again to Heaven. “Truly God is good,” he said ; “indeed he is. He will not leave me.” His love of life was strong. “I would be willing to live to be further serviceable to God and His people : but my work is done. Yet God will be with His people.”

But the end was fast approaching. He tossed upon the bed in utter weariness all through the night. They offered him a drink. “It is not my design to drink or to sleep,” he said ; “but my design is to make what haste I can to be gone.”³ The last extremity indeed !

¹ Harvey's account, p. 13.

² Fauconberg's letter to Henry Cromwell, 7th September, 1658. Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 375.

³ Harvey, p. 12.

A storm arose—the most tempestuous storm of wind and rain that England had known. It was impossible for horses to walk in it.¹ All day of Friday, the 3d of September, 1658, the anniversary of Dunbar and of Worcester, the elements raged, while Oliver Cromwell lay speechless and in his last agony. Late in the afternoon, about four o'clock on his Fortunate Day, his spirit passed out amid the lightnings.

The Lord Protector was dead !

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 610. Gumble's *Life of Monck*, p. 92.





CHAPTER XXVII.

CROMWELL'S PLACE IN HISTORY.

Review of his Career—Estimate of his Work—England Appalled at Cromwell's Death—Richard Installed—Sorrow among the Ironsides—Oliver's Funeral—Ignoble Revenge on his Body—Richard Dismissed from his Office—Henry Cromwell Resigns from Ireland—Permanent Disappearance of the Cromwell Family from History—The Long Parliament Reassembles—Restoration of Charles II.—*Vale* Oliver.

CROMWELL had finished his work. He had sprung from the heart of the people of England to vindicate their liberties. He had walked up and down the earth like a war-god arrayed in the thunders of battle. He had conquered his autocratic King and all the nobility of England. He had overthrown a bloody rebellion in Ireland and transformed the environment of that mad people into industry and peace. In the space of one year he had entirely subdued Scotland, which had successfully resisted the Kings of England for eight hundred years.

His military career had been prodigious, far excelling the contemporaneous work of Gustavus Adolphus and of Wallenstein. The brilliance of his victories outshone the single battle of William the Conqueror and all the contests in the Wars of the Roses. His political domination was not surpassed by the ephemeral sway of Napoleon, and in martial supremacy he was equal to Cæsar. Individually, his pure patriotism, his sacrifice to duty, his public wisdom, and his endeavour for the right course in every difficulty, gave him a transcendent character which, in the history of dangerous epochs, suggests but two

men who are worthy to be compared with him as righteous rulers—Washington and Lincoln. Among the world's heroes he stands high above all the rest, because the results of his illustrious performances are of more enduring benefit to mankind.

He was not ambitious to found a dynasty, and he permitted the succession to fall to Richard, because he knew that the existing order of things would suffer a less rude shock at Richard's hands than if he turned the Government over to Lambert or to Fleetwood. It has been asked why he did not restore Charles II. to the throne under constitutional pledges. But when this had been proposed to him, he replied: "Charles is so damnably debauched he will undo us all"; and the history of the reign of Charles and of James demonstrates that Cromwell's connivance in the Restoration would not have enhanced his own fame nor England's welfare. His foresight was too astute to permit him to hope for the preservation of the Commonwealth under its present form, although he believed that its principles were ineffaceably established.

When he stood at the head of that supreme Army, whose victories had worn away the last fabric of a legal but oppressive administration, he discovered that by the law of necessity the Government had fallen upon his shoulders. It was a thankless task, which no other man in England could have successfully encountered. As he trod on in the line of strict duty, he perceived with crushing sorrow that his burden afforded neither joy to himself nor gratitude to his people.

But while his Government was unstable as simply an expedient of the time, and while it was so soon to fade away, his work must endure while men inhabit the earth. For Cromwell and his Puritan hosts engrafted it imperishably upon civilisation, that nations have the right to govern themselves, and that all just powers in the State are derived from the people. Above all else, he destroyed the dangerous theory of a fundamental union between Church and State, whereby the rulers assume the right to coerce the consciences of Dissenters; and he broke in pieces an ecclesiastical system which promised to become as

intolerant and tyrannical as that which it had displaced. He insisted that it was the natural right of every individual to worship God from his own heart and lips, free from the interposition of all sacerdotal machinery. And the absolute freedom of conscience and equality before the law which are so largely the principles of modern civilisation, wherever they may have had their birth, flourished into healthy and permanent life under the nourishing and zealous care of Oliver Cromwell's Government.

He has no monument in England, and he can have none with the sanction of the Government, because a monument to Cromwell would be an official acknowledgment of successful rebellion. But the great Deliverer needs no marble shaft while mankind cherishes the remembrance of his works.

When the news of Cromwell's fatal sickness reached Ireland, Henry Cromwell solicitously inquired: "Where is that person of wisdom, courage, conduct, and (which is equivalent to all) reputation at home and abroad, which we see necessary to preserve our peace? Would not good men fear one another, and the world them?"¹

But while Lambert, until the abolishment of the Major-Generals had stirred him to mortal enmity against Cromwell, had expected to succeed to the Protectorship, and while Fleetwood, even at the death of Oliver, had held some faint hopes of being called to the office, yet there was none of sufficient courage to gainsay Richard's claim. Accordingly, within three hours of Oliver's death, Richard was proclaimed Lord Protector. There was no tumult, nor any apparent opposition, although the Cavalier party instantly became alert and impatiently awaited their opportunity to rise. "There is not a dog that wags his tongue," wrote Thurloe, "so great a calm as we are in."²

That incomparable Army, which the great Puritan had moulded into the finest military machine in Europe, received the intelligence of his death in the lethargy and gloom of hopeless sorrow. They felt that they had "not lost a General and

¹ Letter to Thurloe, Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 376.

² Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 374.

Protector only, but a dear and tender father to them all and the Lord's people."¹

But within four days of Cromwell's death Thurloe's watchful eye detected the signs of revolt. On September 7th he wrote to Henry Cromwell² that there were already secret murmurings that Richard was not a soldier and had no common interest with the Army, and that he ought to resign the command to one of their own Generals.

In the meantime, preparations for the late Protector's funeral were made, and the body, after lying in state for more than two months,³ was buried with the greatest pomp in Westminster Abbey, that dormitory of Kings. The malignant revenge of the Stuarts afterwards caused it to be disinterred and hanged at Tyburn, the head to be placed on a pole over Westminster Hall, where it stood against the blasts of twenty winters, and the body, together with those of his sainted mother and Ireton and Bradshaw, to be thrown into a lime-pit in St. Margaret's churchyard.⁴

Richard called a Parliament which might have done something for the good of the nation. But as the Army cabal led by Fleetwood and Desborough considered Parliaments offensive on general principles, they forced Richard to dismiss this one, and then they dismissed Richard, who retired into obscurity after a pusillanimous reign of seven months and twenty-eight days. He lived in exile for twenty years after the Restoration, away from wife and children, apparently more in fear of his creditors than of the wrath of his King, who de-

¹ Fleetwood to H. Cromwell, Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 375.

² Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 374

³ Noble, vol. i., p. 277.

⁴ I shall not copy the details of this inhuman and atrocious spitework, which was assented to by the Parliament by vote of Dec. 8, 1660. The revolting account is given in Noble, vol. i., p. 288, etc. The many arguments which have been made to prove that it was not Cromwell's body which was thus ignominiously treated, and which are cleverly summed up in an article in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1881, entitled, "What Became of Cromwell?" have failed to disturb the truth of history as in the text. Pepy's *Diary*, Jan. 30, 1660-1; Heath, *Flagellum*, p. 192; *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., London, 1890, p. 160.

spised him. On his return to England he assumed the name of Clark for a short time. He died in 1712 at the advanced age of eighty-six years.

After the deposition of Richard, Henry Cromwell resigned his post in Ireland and passed the remainder of his days in England. He was an accomplished and able man, and might have preserved the glory of his house had Oliver intrusted him, instead of Richard, with the Government. He was happily married and lived in honourable retirement at Spinney Abbey, and died when forty-six years old. With the resignation of Henry from the Lord Deputyship the fall of the Cromwell family was complete, and they passed out of history, whose gilded page no descendant of theirs has since notably invaded. Of Cromwell's daughters, Bridget, who had successively married Ireton and Fleetwood, died at fifty-seven; Mary, Lady Fauconberg, at seventy-five; and Frances, married to Robert Rich and afterwards to Sir John Russell, at eighty-two. All of the Protector's children who married left offspring except Mary, and the line is still in existence.¹

After Richard Cromwell's deposition the Long Parliament was permitted to return, and it made an attempt to settle the peace of the nation. But jealousy and ambition prevented its success. Lambert was for a moment supreme with the Army, but his insignificant parts were unequal to such an heroic situation. George Monk, with the Army from Scotland, marched down to London, silent, cautious, and watchful, and overthrew Lambert. He first dismissed the Long Parliament and then restored it; and finally, when he perceived that nothing would pacify his countrymen but the succession of Charles II., he permitted that remarkable body which had held the name of

¹ Oliver Cromwell, who published a life of the Protector in 1822, was the seventh in descent from the great Oliver and the last of the male line. There are numerous descendants now living, perhaps one thousand of them, but none bearing the name of Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, or Claypole. Oliver's blood runs through the veins of many of the most aristocratic families in England, but from descent through his daughters. Waylen's *House of Cromwell*, London, 1891. The storm of prejudice which gathered round the Protector's memory after the Restoration did not attack his descendants, many of whom have held office under the Crown.

Parliament for seventeen years, with its history at once illustrious and contemptible, glorious and base, to arrange for the recall of the King. On the 29th of May, 1660, after Cromwell had been twenty months dead, Charles Stuart entered London. His people, wearied with civil wars, forgot their battles and their wounds, and welcomed him back to the heritage of his fathers with glad acclamations. But in the hearts of the Ironsides, who at Blackheath received Charles that day with loyalty and peace, there must have been many sad and tender and touching memories of that beloved General who had been the wonder of Europe and the glory of his age, Oliver Cromwell.





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